

Philip II. King of Spain

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1025. 9 16
A

**Treatise against the
Proclamation published by the King
of Spayne, by which he proscribed the late
Prince of Orange: wherby shall appeare the
sclaunders and false accusations conteyned
in the sayd proscription, which is annexed
to the end of this Treatise.**

**PRESENTED TO MY LORDS THE
Estates generall in the Low Countries. &c**

Together with the sayd Proclamation or Proscription.



Printed in French and all other Languages.

AT DELFT.



**A copie of the Letters which my
Lord the Prince of Orange, sent vnto the Kigns and
Potentates of Christendome.**

(*)

Sir, I doubt not, but that your Ma-
iestie hath bin aduertised of a certaine Proscription, which
the King of Spaine, hath appointed to be published against
me, because he hath caused the same to be spread abroad in all lan-
guages, and hath sent it also into diuers quarters of christendome.
I and all my verie good freendes haue thought, that I could not suffi-
ciently defende myne honor (which I am aduised and purposed not to
hazard or indaunger for anie thing) but by setting a iust defence, a-
gainst this vniust Proscription. In regard whereof, I haue presented
vnto my Lords, the estates of these countries, my aunswere: which
aunswere also (for the maintenaunce of myne honor and reputation,
amongest the Princes & Potentates of Europe, who in respect of their
preheminences and dignities, are the succours of poore Princes and
distressed noble men) I haue bin bolde to sende vnto them, and to you
(Syr) particularlie, most humble beseeching your Maiestie, that, af-
ter you haue seene it, you would yeelde like iudgement thereof, as it
hath pleased my Lords the Estates, who haue bin most faithfull wit-
nesses of all myne actions, to do, and to esteeme and iudge thereof al-
so (as it shall please your Maiestie to take knowledge of it) by their
advice and counsell, which also is annexed to my said defence. And
because (Sir) your Maiestie may thinke it straunge, that the King of
Spaine, hauing heretofore violently taken from me all my goods, af-
ter that I had put my gouernementes into the hands of the Dutches
of Parma, then the Gouvernesse of this estate, and had withdrawn my
selfe into the countrey of Germanie, the place of my natiuitie, where
I kept my selfe peaceable among my brethren, kinsfolkes & freends,
as also I had fully purposed so to continue: and that, hauing at the
same time, conueyed or caried awaie from the scholes, my sonne the
Countie of Bueren, and both contrarie to the priuiledges of the coun-
trei, and against his owne othe causing him to be caried prisoner into
Spaine, wher he is as yet cruelly kept captiue: and besides, hauing pro-
cured me to be condemned to death, by the Duke of Alua his owne
officer: because (I saie) your Maiestie may thinke it straunge, that for

all these reasons (which were neuerthelesse verie great and waightie) I haue not hitherto published anie defence, which was directed to the said King, or might directly concerne him, which thing notwithstanding I do at this present and declare thereby, that the faultes, wherewith the King of Spaine mindeth to charge me, belong vnto him selfe. I do therefore most humble beseeche your Maiestie (Sir) that before you iudge of this my writing, you would consider the qualitie both of the crimes and faultes, wherewith I am charged by this Proscription, and also the qualitie of mine owne person. For, if the King of Spaine was content to withhold from me my sonne and my goods, which he hath in his possession, & further to offer (as at this present he doth) fine & twētie thousand crownes for my head, and to promise to make such noble as should murther me, and to pardon them all the faultes whatsoeuer that they could haue committed before that time: no man should thinke it euill in me, that I haue attempted by all the meanes I could, (as in deede heretofore I haue done) to preserue my selfe and myne, and to inable my selfe what I could, to enter againe into that which is myne owne: and that I haue followed that order and course of life that I haue done. But further the King of Spaine, hauing al the world thorowe published, that I am a publike plague, an enemye of the world, vnthankfull, vnfaithfull, a traytor, and a wicked person: these are such iniuries (Sir) that no gentleman, no though he were of the basest of the king of Spaines naturall subiectes, can or ought to endure: in so much (Sir) that though I were one of his simple and absolute vassals, who oweth homage vnto him by honor, yet so it is, that by such a sentence, and so vniust in all and euerie part thereof: I also hauing bin by him, spoiled of my landes and Lordshippes, in respect of which, I should heretofore haue taken an othe vnto him, I might haue helde my selfe absolved and free from all my bandes towardes him, & haue assured also (which thing euen nature hath taught euerie one) by all the meanes I could to maintaine myne honor, which ought to be to me and to all noble men, more deare than life and goods. Notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased God, to shewe me this great grace, that I am borne a free Lord, not holding of anie other but of the Empire, as do the Princes and other free Lordes of Germanie and Italie: and further seeing that I beare the title, and haue the name of an absolute and free Prince, though in deede my Princedome be not verie great: yea whatsoeuer it be, I not being his natural subiect, neither hauing helde anie thing of him, but by reason of my Seignuries & Lordshippes,

shippes, of which notwithstanding he hath wholly dispossessed me: it
 hath seemed unto me, that I could not defende myne honor, and satisfie
 or content my neare kinsfolkes, sundrie Princes (to whom this is my
 honor that I am lincked) and my whole posteritie, but in answering
 by publike writing to this accusation, which in the presence of all christen-
 dome, is published and set out against me. And though I haue not
 bin able to do it, without touching his honor, I hope notwithstanding
 (Sir) that your Maiestie will impute it, rather to the inforcement, than
 the qualitie and hainousnes of this Proscription hath laide vpon me,
 than to my nature or will. For as concerning this point, that some men
 maie thinke it straunge, that I do after this sorte defende my selfe, see-
 ing that I haue sometimes heretofore helde of him sundrie landes and
 Lordshippes, for aunswere thereto, I will most humblie beseeche your
 Maiestie, to consider the hainousnes of the iniurie, that is done me,
 which a right noble man will neuer in deede abide: also that I am not
 his naturall subiect, and, as concerning my fees and pensions, that he
 hath spoiled me of them. But suppose that I had alwaies enioyed them:
 yet so it is, that the same lawe which he vseth towardes others, should
 not be denied to me. He holdeth of the French King in loyaultie and
 homage, and euen as the vassall doth of his Lord, the Countie or Earl-
 dome of Charollois: and yet for all that he ceaseth not, to make warr
 against the crowne of Fraunce, yea he neuer leaueth of continuallie to
 practise and deuise, somewhat against the same. He taketh this as a
 sure foundation or rule, that, being a soueraigne gouernor in some o-
 ther place, it is lawfull for him, to reuenge him selfe of the wrong,
 which he pretended was done vnto him, by the late French King Hen-
 rie of most noble memorie. When he made warre against the Pope
 Caraffa, because as a vassall he helde of him the kingdomes of Sicilia
 and Naples, he published his defence, by which he mainteined, that he
 was absolved from his othe, because that the Pope kept not him selfe,
 within the termes or pointes that the Lord oweth to his vassall, accor-
 ding to the feodall lawes which are mutuall, and respect as well the
 one, as the other. Now (Sir) there is nothing so naturall or kindlie, as,
 that euerie one should in his owne cause, receaue the verie selfesame
 rule and order, that he would haue an other man to receaue or allow
 of. Wherefore he should not thinke it straunge, that I, being so manie
 wayes reuiled & iniuried by him, and not being his subiect, that I, I say,
 do ayde my selfe, with the meanes that God hath giuen me, and with
 which he hath bin willing to helpe him selfe against his Lordes, who

In the letter
 sent to the
 Frēch King,
 it is vvrītē:
 He holdeth
 of your Ma-
 iestic.

have not offended him in anie thing what so ever, that draweth right to the wrong which I have suffered at his hande: yea he should not thinke it straunge, that I use against him that reprochfull note, by which he assayeth to marke as it were in the forehead, both me and my race.

And because my Lords the Estates, (who have more rightly known the trueth of all that is contained in this my defence, and have approved the same) have yeelded unto me sufficient testimonie inough touching my life past: I do most humblie also beseeche your Maiestie (Sir) in approving this same myne aunswere, to beleene that I am not, either a traytour or wicked person, but that I am, (thanks be to God for it) a noble man, of a verie good and most auncient house, yea a good man and true in euerie thing that I promise, not vnthankful, nor vnfaithfull, nor hauing committed anie thing, whereby a Lord or Knight of my state & countenaunce, may receaue anie reproche or shame: most humblie beseeching you, to holde and account me, in the number of your most humble seruautes. And thus hauing most humblie submitted my selfe vnto your Maiestie, I will pray God (Sir) to giue it, together with perfect health, a most blessed and most long life. At Delft in Holland, the iiij. day of Februarie 1581.

Your Maiesties most humble and obedient seruaunt,

WILLIAM OF NASSAU.

A decla-

A declaration made by my Lord the
Prince of Orange, to my Lords the Estates General of the lowe Countries.

MY Lordes, ye haue heretofore seene a certaine sentence in the forme of a Proscription, which was sent by the King of Spaine, and afterwards published by the appointment and order of the Prince of Parma: and howe by the meanes thereof, myne enemies haue against all right and reason attempted, grieuously to touche and to taint myne honor, and to cause my former actions, to be thought euil and wicked: wherein I haue bin very willing and desirous, to take the aduice and counsell of sundrie notable personages, and men of great name and calling, yea of the principall counsellors and wyse men of this countrey. But by reason of the qualitie and forme of the said Proscription, and the haynous and greuous crimes wherewith I am charged, although in deede wrongfully, I haue hitherto stayed: notwithstanding I haue bin aduised and counselled by sundrie my frendes, that I cannot otherwise defende myne honour, but to shewe by publike writing, howe vniustly I haue bin accused and charged with many faultes: and also howe I haue bin openly iniured, and maliciously slandered. According to which aduice and counsell (my Lords) seeing that in this worlde, I acknowledge you only for my superiors, I offer vnto you this my defence, written against the reprehensions of myne aduersaries, by which I hope that I haue not only discovered all their deceits & slaunders, but also lawfully iustified, all my actions past. And because, that their principall marke and purpose is, to seeke out all the meanes they can, to take away my life, or els to cause me to be banished out of these countries, or at the least, to diminishe the authoritie which it hath pleased you to giue mee, as if obtaining that thing once, all should fall out as they would wishe it: & on the other side, because they slander me, that by unlawful meanes I keepe and holde my authoritie, I beseech you my Lords to beleue, that albeit I be content to liue amongst you, so long as it shall please God, and to continue towards you my faithful seruice: yet notwithstanding, that myne owne life, which I haue dedicated to your seruice, and my presence
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in the midst of you, are not so deare vnto me, but that I can most willingly abandon and forgo my lyfe, or els withdrawe my selfe out of the countrey, when you shall thinke or know, that either the one or the other may any māner of way serue your turne, to purchase vnto you a more assured libertie. And as cōcerning the authoritie which it hath pleased you to giue me, you knowe my Lords howe many times I haue besought you, to content your selues with my seruice, and to vnburden me thereof, if you should thinke that it would stande well, with the good estate of your affaires, which thing euen as yet I do demaunde of you, offering notwithstanding (as I haue alwayes done) in all that wherein it hath pleased you to commaunde me, still to continue to employe my selfe in the seruice of the coūtre: in regard of which I esteeme nothing of all that is in the worlde, as I doo more largely declare the same vnto you in this my defence. Which if you shal iudge it conuenient, I beseeche you to thinke it good, and to take care, that it may be brought to light and published, to the ende, that not only you (my Lords) but also the whole worlde may iudge, of the equitie of my cause, and of the vniust dealing of myne aduersaries.

*Presented by my Lord the Prince of Orange, to my Lords
the Deputies of the Estates generall, and of the
Prouinces vnited together, being assembled in
the towne of D E L F T, the xij. of December.*

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Vnderneath was written,

I I. H O F F L I N being present.

The



The aunswere of my Lordes the Estates
generall, made to the former declaration.

THE Estates generall, hauing not many dayes since, scene and read a certaine Proscription, published by the enemies, against your Excellencies person, by which they charge the same with heinous crimes, endeavouring to make it odious, (as though by unlawfull meanes, and indirect wayes, it had vsurped the place and degree, wherein it is sett and established) and to deliuer your saide Excellencies person ouer for a parie, and to take from it the honor thereof: hauing in like sorte scene and viewed, a defence sett out by your Excellencie, against the said Proscription, finde, by the trueth of that which hath passed in these countries, and which is knowne and manifest also, to euerie one of them, in respect of them selues, that the saide crimes, faultes and reproches, haue vniustlie bin laide vpon the same. And as concerning the offices, as well of Lieutenant generall, as of the particular gouernementes, they affirme that his excellencie, yea euen then, when he was lawfully elected & chosen, did not accept them, but at our instant request, in which also he hath continued at our intreaties, and that with the sounde contentment and satisfaction, of the whole countrie: and the saide Estates doo yet againe beseeche him, that it would please him to continue therein, promising him all ayde and assistance, without sparing anie of the meanes they haue, and also to yeelde vnto him readie and willing obedience. And because they knowe, the faithfull seruices, that your Excellencie hath yeilded to these countries, and those also which they hope, in time yet hereafter to come, you will performe: they offer vnto him, for the assurance of his person, to maintaine a companie of horsemen for the sauegarde thereof, beseeching him to accept it on the behalfe, and at the offer of those persons, which thinke them selues much bound to the preservation thereof,

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thereof. And so much as toucheth the said Estates (who think them
selues also charged by the said Proscription) they minde shortly in like
sorte to iustifie them selues, so farre forth as they shall thinke it
conuenient. So concluded in the assemblie of my Lordes the Estates
generall, in the towne of Delft, the xvij. day of December. In the
yeere of our Lorde, 1580.

By the expresse determination
of the said Estates.

Signed I. Houfflin.


An Apo-



AN APOLOGIE OR DEFENCE, OF MY *Lord the Prince of Orange, Countie of*

Nassau, of Catzenellenbogh, Dietz, Vianden, &c. Burch-
graue of Antwerp, and Vicount of Bezanson, Baron of Breda,
Diest, Grimberghe, of Arlay, Nozeroy, &c. Lord of Chastel-
bellin, &c. Lieutenaut generall in the lowe Coun-
tries, and Gouvernour of Brabant, Hol-
lande, Zeeland, Vtrecht, and Frise,
and Admiral, &c.

Against the Proclamation and Edict, published by the
King of Spaine, by which he proscribeth the said
Lord, whereby shall appeare the slaunders
and false accusations, conteyned
in the saide Proscrip-
tion.

 *His is the thing which I haue al-*
waies praied vnto God for (my Lords) & desired
withal my hart, that he would graūt it me, frō the
time that I vowed my person, & all the meanes
that I haue in the worlde, for the recouering of your libertie, &
the safetie of your persons, goods, and consciences: if I saie, I
should at any time haue preferred, that which respecteth my
self particularly, before your health & wealth generally, that I
niight in this behalf, beare an eternal punishmēt, which I shuld
haue drawē vpon my self, by myne own good wil and accord:
But on the other side, if that which I haue done heretōfore,
hath bin by me attempted & takē in hand, only for the preser-
uatiō of your estate: and that I haue borne, a great parte of the
burthen of this present warre, onely for the cōmon safegarde
of the countrey: and that the hatred conceaued by certeine
wicked persons, against the countrey, against godly people &

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honorablen personages, hauing bin for a certayne time dissembled and couered in their hartes, commeth wholly and that at once, to vomit and cast vp it selfe vpon me only, rather then vpon so many good people, & specially vpon the general estate of the common wealth: then I saye this hath bin the thing that I haue greatly desired, that, if my good will had bin such towardes you (my Lordes) your children, your townes and communalities, as in deede it hath bin, I might one day carie awaye, a solemne testimonie thereof, as wel for the peace of myne owne conscience, as for the defence of myne owne honor, before all the people of the earth, and before al posteritie. And nowe I do greatly reioyce my selfe, and yeelde immoortal thanks vnto our good God, & I haue great occasion of contentment and quietnes, seeing that he suffereth me to be made so rare, and so noble, and so excellent a marke thereof, by this cruell and barbarous Proscription, yea such a one, as the like hath not bin heard in these countries, commended amongst all people & nations, for their singular and incredible courtesie. For albeit that nothing be more to be wished of a man, than the race and course of his life, to be sound, blessed, prosperous, and vpright, without any dashe, blowe, stumbling, or any wicked incountring: notwithstanding if all things had fallen out vnto me, as I would haue wished, and that I had not incountred, with the hatred of the Spanishe nation and his adherentes, I should haue lost the gaine of this testimonie, which my very enemies haue yeilded me, & which I take to be the most excellent flowre of glorie, that I had bin able to haue desired, to haue bin crowned with, before my death. For what in this worlde can be more acceptable, and that specially to him, who hath enterprised so great and excellent a work, as is the libertie of so good a people, oppressed by so wicked people, than to be deadly hated of his enimies, yea such enimies, as are withal the enimies of the countrey, & by their owne verie mouth and confession, to receaue a sure testimonie, of his faithfulness towardes his owne people, and of constancie, against tyraunts & disturbers of cōmon peace? in so much, that the Spaniards and their adherents, thinking
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in deede to do me displeasure, haue done me many pleasures, as by this infamous Proscription, they haue thought to hurt me more than before, and yet they haue made me more reioyce, and giuen me more contentednes of minde. For I haue not only thereby receaued that profit, but they haue opened vnto me a more large field to defend my selfe, than I durst euer be bolde to desire, that so I might cause all the world to know, the equitie and iustice of my enterprises, & by it leaue vnto my posteritie, an example of vertue meete to be followed by all those, that would not dishonour the nobilitie of their auncesters, from whence we are descended, & of whom, not so much as one onely, hath at any time fauoured tyrannie, but all they haue loued the libertie of the people, amongst whom they haue borne office and had authoritie. I haue no occasion to cōplaine, that I haue not had heretofore, matter large ynough to speake of my selfe, and to reprove the foule and hayuous faultes of myne enemies: but neither would shamefastnes suffer me my selfe to sing and set out myne owne prayses, which surely is a hard matter not to do, whatsoeuer modestie a man pretend in such a matter: neither would publike honestie permit me, to enlarge my selfe to rehearse the faultes of mine enemies, liking much better to burie some part of their greeuous enterprises vnder silence, than in publishing them (albeit in trueth) to cast my selfe into daunger, to incurre the suspicion to be a slaunderer. Seeing than (my Lords) that in this Proscription, the question is not onely to taxe any person, and barbarously to make it a pray, but also it is knowen to euerie one, that by my woundes, they minde to wound the cōmon wealth and the state of all these countreis: as also this is no more now performed, by small diffamatorie libelles, made by people of no account; and whose iniuries done against me, should no more moue me, than the tounge of some litle serpent, which a man must rather breake in peeces with his foote, than indeuour to fight against it with weapons: but that men of so great cōutenance, should so farre and so vilely debase their greatnes, as to busie them selues, fallie to backbite and to slaunder, it hath seemed vnto me altogether necessarie to speak, to the end

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that our common cuntry (for which I am readie to giue vp my lyfe, as I haue alreadie lost my goods) may not feele her selfe damnified or hurt by my silence, & that on the other side, these famous titles, of so many Countries & Kingdomes, stretching them selues so farre as ouer Africa and Asia, may not dasell the eyes of many, who iudge the affaires & matters of this world, rather by shadowes, appearaunces, and outward shewes, than by strength and soundnes of reason. I knowe notwithstanding all this, that those which persecute me, haue in many pointes aduantage against me, and principally in two pointes: the one is, that they make a shewe and boasting, of their great qualities and estates, which do infinitely exceede my condition: the other (which is also a naturall thing to all men) willingly to open their eares to euill speeches & flauders: for I haue oftentimes heard, the most elegant of all the Poets, to haue very well said, that there is not in any feast any sawce so sweete, to the pallet of the mouth, as euill speache and backbyting is to the eare: and on the other side, that nothing is hearde so much against the heart, and with so great griefe, as the speache of him that prayseth him selfe. Of these two pointes, that which bringeth pleasure is giuen to myne enimie, and I haue for my share, that which is harde and vupleasaunt almost to the whole worlde. But I hope, that by the meane of your fauour and vsuall good will, that neither the one nor the other, shall bring me any losse or hurt, seeing that so it is, that this long time sithence you haue tried, that these great and famous States, if they be spotted and tainted with tyrannie, can not gaine much of free heartes and noble courages. And on the other side, knowing the ordinarie trade and course of my life, who loue not more to blame an other man, than to prayse my selfe, yet if it so fall out that I do, either the one or the other, as it is a very harde thing not to do so (albeit that it shal be with the greatest modestie that I can) and if there be any thing that may seeme not very seemely, it shal be long to you (my Lordes) to attribute the same, rather to the necessitie so to do (which mine enemies haue layde vpon me) than to my nature, & by that meanes to vnburthen me, and to laye the faulte wholly, vpon their owne shame.

P R I N C E O F O R A N G E.

shamelesnes & importunitie. And I wil praye you (my Lords) to remember, that I am falsly accused to be *vnthankfull, vnfaithfull, an heretike, an hypocrite, like vnto Iudas and Cain, the disturber of the countrey, rebellious, a straunger, an enimie of mankind, the publike plague of the christian common wealth, a traytour, and a wicked person, that I am set out to be slaine as a beast, with rewarde to all murderers, and to all poysoners which will attempt the same,* leauing you to iudge (my Lordes) whether it be possible to purge my selfe from such flauders, without ripping vp in some matters, the ordinarie course of my life, & without exceeding my custome, in speaking of my selfe and other men. In the meane whyle, I am so assured of the iustice of my cause, and of my soundnes and faithfulness towards you, and on the other side, of your equitie and roundnes, and of the knowledge that you haue, howe & after what sorte all things haue passed, that I demaunde no other thing of you, but onely that you would iudge, and take notice of this matter, and determine thereof for your owne good, health, and preservation, that which the lawes, freedoms, liberties, and priuiledges of the countrey, commaunde you, according to the hope that the people hath of your wisdom and vprightnes : which thing also I pray you to do, yea I earnestly beseeche you, by all holy & sacred things, and that by the othe and band which you beare to the countrey, certainly assuring my selfe, that as in many other matters I am lesse than mine enemies, so that I shalbe in this behalfe so much the more their superiour, as that by all meanes & craftes they haue purposed, to violate, breake, & suppress your lawes, your priuiledges, and liberties : whereas on the other side, I haue with a good heart and all faithfulness, imployed my selfe to maintaine & preserve the same. And albeit (my Lords) that I am not in such sorte an enimie, to my renowne & owne good name, but that I take delight and pleasure (as also I hope my actions and deedes deserue the same) to be in good accout among all the Princes, Potentates, and common weales of the world (excepting onely amongst the Spaniards & their adherents, who perseuering in the pursuit of their tyrannie, I desire not either grace or fauor, or any freedship at their handes) not

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withstāding, seeing that you are the men only in this matter, to whom I haue takē an othe, to whom alone I couēt my self bound who alone also haue power to approue or improue my actes & deedes : I shall hold my selfe very well satisfied, when on your parte I shall haue receaued a testimonie cōformable & agreeable to my intentes and purposes, which haue alwayes bin ioyned with your good, profit, and seruice : and I shall patiently suffer other people and nations, to iudge thereof according to their passions and affections, or rather (which thing also I more desire) according to equitie, right, & iustice, hauing first put of all preiudice, and freed their own vnderstandings from the thick cloudes of these greatneses and glorie, which might heretofore haue somewhat dazeled them.

Nowe if mine enemies (my Lordes) had come directly, to the point and matter of the Proscription, setting out the reasons, vpon which is grounded, this barbarous sentence (which sentence in deede doth ouermuch declare their minde verie base and much degenerating from the vertue and courage of their auncestors) I had not vsed likewise any circuites or compassinges of wordes, but had at the verie entrie declared, both what myne owne innocencie is, and howe weake and ruinous their foundations and groundworkes are. But seeing that to make me odious, they haue better liked, to set, euen at the entrance, before the eyes of all the worlde, a heape of iniuries, and in the course of this speache, without purpose to interlace them, speaking so shamelessly of me : I suppose, that it is necessary, yea in deed most iust, that I aunswere to such slaunders, to the ende that some being mooued or perswaded by such words, may not yet receiue this my defence, with a harte more estraunged from me, than the lawe allowed amongst people, and iustice it selfe requireth.

As concerning then this heape of iniuries, by which I am so shamelessly rent in peeces, and which being taken out of this Proscription, nothing shall remaine therein but a smoke : you see (my Lordes) howe plaine and without painting coulours the defence is that I vse. If you knome me to be such a one, as myne enemies publishe me to be : if I carrie either in my bodie or
die or

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die or in my soule, such coulours as the forger of this writing saith, that he hath painted me out withall (for my Lordes ye haue knowne me from my youth, and I haue not spent my age els where, but with you) thut immediatly your eares, and refuse to heare or vnderstande, so much as one worde comming out of my mouth. But if on the other side, I haue all my lyfe thorowe, bin more honest, more sounde, more continent, and lesse couetous, than the authors of this slaunderous writing, and then he, which hath published the same, to witt, the Prince of Parma and his predecessors, whose factes are ouerwell knowne by histories: if I saie, you haue knowne me and mine auncestors, more vertuous people than these (for I speake not as yet of the King) and their auncestors, then belecue, that as they falsely slaunder at the verie entrance, so they shal be no more meete to be beleueed, in all the rest of their shamelesse accusations. For, to what ende I pray you, serueth this recitall of so many iniuries, but onely to shewe vnto the worlde, that my enemies are skilfull to slaunder and backbite, and that he, whom yet thorowe Gods goodnes, they haue not bin able to murther, neither by poyson, nor sword, nor yet to deceaue by promises, nor yet busie him with vaine and vncertaine hopes, they do assay, at the least to wound him, with the venim of their tongue, accustomed euen from their youth to so infamous an occupation?

They at the beginning make a recitall, of many good turnes which I haue receyued from the Emperour, in respect of the succession, of my late Lorde the Prince of Orange my cosen, that the King made me of his order, Lieutenannt generall in the gouernement of Holland, Zeelande, Vtrecht, and Burgundie, and one of the counsell of Estate. To what ende are these things alleadged? to declare that I am greatly bounde to the house of Spaine, and that I can not shunne this, but that I must be condemned of ingratitude: and morcouer, that by reason of the othe that I had taken, and of the landes and Lordshippes, that I holde in homage of the saide Lorde, I am bound to procure, the profitt and aduancement of his affaires and matters, thinking to make me likewise culpable and faultie of vnfaithfulnes. Verely I

Of the goodturnes vvhich som say, the lord Prince hath receaued of the Emperour Charles.

Accusation of ingratitude.

Accusation of vnthankfulnes.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

withſtāding, ſeeing that you are the men only in this matter, to whom I haue takē an othe, to whom alone I couēt my ſelf bound who alone alſo haue power to approue or improue my actes & deedes: I ſhall hold my ſelfe very well ſatiſfied, when on your parte I ſhall haue receaued a teſtimonie cōformable & agreeable to my intentes and purpoſes, which haue alwayes bin ioyned with your good, profit, and ſeruice: and I ſhall patiently ſuffer other people and nations, to iudge thereof according to their paſſions and affections, or rather (which thing alſo I more deſire) according to equitie, right, & iuſtice, hauing firſt put of all preiudice, and freed their own vnderſtandings from the thick cloudes of theſe greatneſſes and glorie, which might heretofore haue ſomewhat dazeled them.

Nowe if mine enemies (my Lordes) had come directly, to the point and matter of the Proſcription, ſetting out the reaſons, vpon which is grounded, this barbarous ſentence (which ſentence in deede doth ouermuch declare their minde verie baſe and much degenerating from the vertue and courage of their aunceltors) I had not vſed likewise any circuites or compaſſinges of wordes, but had at the verie entrie declared, both what myne owne innocencie is, and howe weake and ruinous their foundations and groundworkes are. But ſeeing that to make me odious, they haue better liked, to ſet, euen at the entrance, before the eyes of all the worlde, a heape of iniuries, and in the courſe of this ſpeache, without purpoſe to interlace them, ſpeaking ſo ſhameleſſely of me: I ſuppoſe, that it is neceſſary, yea in deed moſt iuſt, that I aunſwere to ſuch flaunders, to the ende that ſome being mooued or perſwaded by ſuch words, may not yet receiue this my defence, with a harte more eſtraunged from me, than the lawe allowed amongeſt people, and iuſtice it ſelfe requireth.

As concerning then this heape of iniuries, by which I am ſo ſhameleſſly rent in peeces, and which being taken out of this Proſcription, nothing ſhall remaine therein but a ſmoke: you ſee (my Lordes) howe plaine and without painting coulours the defence is that I vſe. If you knome me to be ſuch a one, as myne enemies publiſhe me to be: if I carrie either in my bodie or

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die or in my soule, such coulours as the forger of this writing saith, that he hath painted me out withall (for my Lordes ye haue knowne me from my youth, and I haue not spent my age els where, but with you) that immediatly your eares, and refuse to heare or vnderstande, so much as one worde comming out of my mouth. But if on the other side, I haue all my lyfe thorowe, bin more honest, more sounde, more continent, and lesse couetous, than the authors of this slaunderous writing, and then he, which hath published the same, to witt, the Prince of Parma and his predecessors, whose factes are ouerwell knowne by histories: if I saie, you haue knowne me and mine auncestors, more vertuous people than these (for I speake not as yet of the King) and their auncestors, then beleue, that as they falsely slaunder at the verie entrance, so they shal be no more meete to be beleued, in all the rest of their shamelesse accusations. For, to what ende I pray you, serueth this recitall of so many iniuries, but onely to shewe vnto the worlde, that my enemies are skilfull to slaunder and backbite, and that he, whom yet thorowe Gods goodnes, they haue not bin able to murther, neither by poyson, nor sword, nor yet to deceaue by promises, nor yet busie him with vaine and vncertaine hopes, they do assay, at the least to wound him, with the venim of their tongue, accustomed euen from their youth to so infamous an occupation?

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Of the goodturnes which som say, the lord Prince hath receaued of the Emperour Charles.

Accusation of ingratitude.

Accusation of vnthankfulness.

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ly I confesse and agree, with the King and the whole house of Spaine, that nothing is so much to be cōdemned in this world, as a man defiled with these two spottes & staines, to wit, of vnthankfulnes & vnfaithfulnes, and he that hath spoken these two iniuries to a man, he hath said as much to him & against him, as if he had charged him with all the accusations & slaunders; that wyse people and fooles, discreete and vndiscreete, could rake together: and specially looke, by how much a Lord is of a more noble and famous house, by so much the more shall he be dishonored, if he can be conuincd of these or such faultes: and I refuse not to be hated of all the worlde, to be rooted out of the earth, and that the memorie of me & myne should be withered for euer, if I may be founde such a one. But that shall be with this condition also, that if I declare, that there is no Prince in the worlde, more vngratefull and vnkind towards a poore Lorde, than he that accused me and would condemne me, is against me and mine: that the vnfaithfulnes also which he hath vsed in respect of me (for I wil not yet speak of the opē violating of his faith towards the cōtrie) is incredible, that then (I say) he also may be subiect to the like condition and state, and may be holden for such a one as he is, amongest all liuing people, and all posteritie to come: and I shall thinke the punishment more great in his behalfe, than he thinketh any in myne, as may appeare by that, which he maketh shewe to seeke for by this tragical Proscription, the which thorowe Gods grace and goodnes, doeth no more astonishe me than a vaine vision or dreame. First (my Lords) I protest, that the remembraunce and memorie of the Emperour Charles, shall alwayes be in an honorable account with me, as well because of his actes, as that it pleased him, to shew me so much honor, as to haue nourished me in his chāber, by the space of nine yeeres, to whom also I yeelded & performed, most faithfull and most willing seruice. But if he, who by reason is most bounde of all men to maintaine his renowne, come to accuse me of ingratitude and vnthankfulnes, as, that I haue not acknowledged the good turnes, which he saieth, that I haue receaued of the Emperour: I beseeche you to holde me excused, if being

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if being cōstrayned for the defence of myne innocencie, I declare, in respect of good turnes alleadged, that I haue not receaued any at all from him, but that in doing him seruice, I haue receaued most great losses, as you shall plainly vnderstande, if it please you to heare me patiently.

Nowe then he saith, that in respect of the succession of the late Lord, the Prince Rene my cosen, the Emperour handled me fauourably. But wherein? First, there was neuer any Lorde as yet founde so euil aduised, that would pretend right against me for succession, in so much that if the Emperour hath not hindered me in that, what hath he done for me, that a iudge, the greatest enemy I could haue, would not haue done likewise? Was there yet anie partie founde so rashe, that durst offer him self to speak against it? And though I had had aduerse parties, if my right were so cleare and so well grounded, that nothing was euer yet hetherto able to be alleadged against it, which was able to darcken it, or to shake it: and that herevpon the Emperour had giuen forth a decree for my profit, what hath he done for me, but administred me iustice, and would not take from me that, which the lawes, reason, and verie nature it selfe did giue me? But if it please you (my Lords) to consider the nature and qualitie of this succession, you shall finde my right and title to haue bin such, that the Emperour could not haue depriued me of it, or taken it from me, without an extreame iniurie, and a most manifest wrong.

There were in the succession, two principall members or braunches: The firste was, that which came by our house of Nassau, which my Lordes my predecessors, the graundfather and great graundfathers, vncles by the fathers side, and cosen germaine by the fathers side, enioyed: that is to saye, the goods which at this day belong vnto me, in Brabant, Flaunders, Hollande and Luxenburgh: the other was, the succession of the house of Challon. As concerning the succession of Nassau, which men commonly call Breda, because it was the principall place of my Lordshippes, and where I and my predecessours had helde our chambers of accountes, counsell, & principall instructions pertayning to vs and ours, who was he

An answer
to the
accusation
of ingratis-
tude.

The success-
ion of Nass-
sau & Chal-
lon.

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that might molest me in that, vnlesse it were my Lorde my father, who was the vnclē, and I the cousin germain, of my Lord the Prince Rene, the onely sonne of my Lord Henrie, Countie of Nassau, my vnclē, and the brother of my Lorde my father? But so farre of is it, that I was hindered in that successiō, by my said Lord and father, that he him selfe tooke paines to come & sollicite the matter, that I might be put in possession thereof: neither was there euer founde man so shamelesse, that would set him selfe against it, but Schoore the President or iudge, who in the counsell saide, that the sonne of an heretike ought not to succcede, because that my Lorde my father, following the examples of good Kings, as of Dauid, Iosias & others, had reformed the Churches of his countries, which he helde & had in Germanie, and had purged them from abuses, according to the worde of God, and that by the permission and sufferance of the Emperour. And notwithstanding all this, the counsell ceaseth not to giue aduise, & to determine the matter according to reason and equitie, as in deede it could not otherwise do, seeing that they had maintained my Lord the Countie of Kingstain myne vnclē in the succession of the Countie of Rocheforte, although that he him selfe were a protestaunt. Seeing then that this was in question (if that may be called a questiō, which was in our owne house, as whether that the succession aforesaid, were adiudged to the father or to the sonne, pronounced notwithstanding always according to the lawes) none beside could iustly pretend any right thereto.

The Barro-
nies of Bur-
gundie & of
Daulphine.

As concerning the house of Challon, first it cannot be saide in respect of the Barronies which I peaceablie holde and possesse in the Dutchie of Burgundie, and in Daulphine of Viena, that I am therefore bound to the Emperour, for he had not anie more power therein than I, all being vnder the power of the Frenche King, who alike seased, the Countie of Charrollois, apparteining to the Emperour, and my Barronries, when warre was mooued betweene them two, in so much that I can not be otherwise bounde vnto him therefore, but in this, that I was conteyned in the treatie of peace made at Sessons, which was the last ductie that he could yeelde, to the
memo-

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memorie of my Lorde my cousin, who but a little while before died, in the same expedition, and that on foote, at the siege of Saint Disier, after so manie deedes of armes done for his seruice. And lesse hath he bin able to fauour me in my Princedome of Orange, where he had nothing to see too nor to do, no neither he, nor anie Prince, whatsoeuer, I my selfe holding the same in a naked, bare, and absolute Soueraigntie: which thing fewe other Lordes are able to saie. And there is no Prince, in respect of my saide Princedome, whose amitie and good grace I stande in neede of, but of the French Kings, who I hope will not touche that, that belongeth to a poore Prince, who is his most humble seruant, because reason suffereth not that, beyonde which reason he will not go, and also because of the loyall and faithfull seruices, that my predecessors haue done to the Crowne of Fraunce, and the Dutchie of Brytannie (whereof he is descended and is the heire) with great daungers of their liues, great expenses, and infinite trauailes.

Princedom
of Orange.

There remayneth then that which belongeth vnto me, in the Countie of Burgundie, and whereof, I haue bin so long time, so vniustlie and tyrannouslie spoyled and dispossessed, which by meanes of lone and borrowing, yeeldeth vnto me, euen to this present time, two millions at the least of losse. But I would in the first place, that they should remember, wherefore the Countie of Burgundie, is called Franck or free, to wit, amongst other reasons, because that the freedome and libertie of the Lordes, and such as holde possessions in the sayde countrey, is, that they haue power, by will to bequeath and to dispose of their goods, howe and to whom, they shall thinke good, without being either for their wiues or their children, or other heires whatsoeuer inforced, otherwyse to dispose of their goodes, but in such sorte, as shall be agreeable to their owne will and pleasure. Seeing then that so it is, that my Lorde the Prince Rene, mooued of his owne good will, did (without anie other respect that he had to me, who was at that tyme a yongge childe liuing in Germanie, vnder the power and discipline, of my Masters and Gouvernours,

Possessions
in the Frack
or fre couñte

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

and he hauing no other respect but that I was his cousin germaine, did, I say, appoint me his generall heire, which thing also he did, according to the power that he had, euen by the lawes and customes of the countrey: I saie that if I ought to yeelde thanks to any, it is to the memorie of the saide Lorde Prince, who being the eldest of our house, ment also, that as I should succeede him in the order of age, so I should come in like sorte to succeede him in his goodes and possessions. I perceauie not then as yet, euen to this present time, that I am anie thing at all bounde for this succession, to the house of Spaine, neither is there anie man in the worlde, that can saie it with trueneth.

The graunt

But the Emperour gaue a graunt vnto the saide Lord Prince, by will to bequeath it, to whom he should thinke good: and by the power of that graunt the Prince chose me for his heire. This (my Lordes) maketh very much for me, and can at no hand serue myne enemies turne. For whē the Emperour yeelded to the graunt, he knewe not who should be nominated heire by the Prince, neither was it knowen of any man, vntill the day of the opening of the will, which was done in the presence of Marie the Queene, after the death of the saide Lorde Prince: in so much that the Emperour cōsenting to the graunt, seeing that his purpose was not to aduaunce me, I doo not thinke my selfe to be bounde vnto him, because the fauour which was shewed vnto the Prince (which notwithstanding euerie meane person whatsoeuer, may easely obtaine, by ordinarie letters out of the Chauncerie) was not shewed on my behalfe, or in respect of me. Besides, to iudge of the graunt, by that which afterwarde insued therevpon, should be to iudge against the rules, which so oftentimes I haue heard the Emperour repeate, who said, that Counselles ought to be examined, liked or disliked, by the causes and not by the effectes. But let vs put the case, that he had not had the graunt, yet nothing was appointed by the will of my Lord the Prince Rene, but according to the lawes, as hath bin before said.

**Testament
militarie.**

But what will they aunswere, when besides all these reasons, I shall saie vnto them, that the testament or will of my Lorde
my

PRINCE OF ORANGE.

my cōſen is a militarie teſtament (which thing alſo they cannot gaine ſaye nor darken) yea, and that made, with very great ſolemnitie, rype iudgement, and in good ſeaſon: made I ſay, & grounded, by expreſſe termes and wordes, vppon this, that the ſaide Lord Prince (who had before felt, what were the dangers of warre, in ſo many expeditions taken in hande for the Emperours ſeruice) was nowe on the way, to go to a warre ſo dangerous, and that with ſo great a Prince as King Frauncis was. And though I be not a great Doctor in the lawes, yet ſo it is, that I do verie well remember, that I haue hearde ſundrie learned perſons diſputing of this matter, in the preſence of my Lord my father, who affirmed, that not onely militarie teſtamentes or willes, but alſo little ſcrippes or ſcrolles, to be of ſuch value & force, according to the lawes of the Empire, that if a man of warre, or a ſouldier, had before his death made or giuen the leaſt marke of his will, yea the leaſt ſigne that a man can imagine or thinke of: as if he had but traced or drawen with his blood vpon his targett, his name whom he will inſtitute, ordaine, and appoint, to be his heire: or with the print of his halbert or of his ſworde, had writtē the ſame on the ground, that that decree of his laſt will, is inuiolable, and to be preferred before al other ordinaunce, according to the auncient priuiledges of thoſe, which are honored with the warlike chaine or collar. Howe much more then was this priuiledge, dew to ſo valiaunt a Prince, & to ſo noble a Knight? For the queſtion is not here, of ſome one ſimple marke or other, but here is a teſtament or will well & aduiſedly made, and that not in haſte or by a ſimple ſouldier wounded, and being readie to die, but by a vertuous Prince, and one worthie of immortall honor, aſſiſted by his counſell, and ſomewhat forward in his waie towards the expedition, and the thinges bequeathed not to a ſtraunger, but to his couſin germaine, and not to an importunate flatterer, but to a young childe being verie farre of frō the Emperours armie, which went to beſeidge Saint Diſier, & purpoſed to do the ſame euen to Paris. But here is an ordinaunce I ſaie, made not without the knowledge of the Emperour, but by his owne graunt, yea an ordinaunce according to the lawes
and cu-

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

and customes vsed in all places. This then being so strong, it was not in mans power to reason against it, and much lesse to make it voide, vnlesse by some one waie or other, which should haue bin ouer tyrannons, and which (it may be) might haue brought more hurt than profit, to the renowne and credit of the Emperour, specially if he had ment to offer any other thing than reason. And as there haue bin amongst my predecessors some, who haue in deede founde meanes and wayes, to cause vniust and vngrateful persons, who kept their goods and possessions from them, to yeelde them the same: so I hope, that God will yet shewe me this grace, to haue a blessed issue against him, who hath vniustly spoyled me of my goodes, and would barbarously take from me my life also. But seeing that I am inforced, yet to speake of the successiō, I would faine haue some tel me, whether the Emperour suffering me to enioye the succession, hath giuen it me of his owne or no: for if I haue receaued nothing from him, but that which before appertayned to my Lord the Prince Rene, I perceauē not how the King can in any manner vpbraide me, that either he, or the Emperor his father, haue giuen me any thing, vnlesse this be liberalitie, to giue largely of an other mans goods.

The Lords
ship of Cha
stel-bellin.

But on the other side, albeit that at this present time, I saye nothing of the wronges that haue bin done me in the sayde Countie, in which I haue such rights and preheminences, and whereof they haue spoiled me, and whereof I speake nothing at this time, leauing to debate and reason thereof, till armes & weapons shall haue yeelded me more reason, than the iniustice of him that keepeth all from me: this I must needes speake, I had no sooner taken holde of the succession of the Seignurie or Lordship of Chastel-bellin, but I was euen assoone spoyled thereof, which is of so smal value, that at this present there are due vnto me, three hundred fiftie thousand poundes of arrerage, by reason thereof. And this is the heape of iniustice that they charge me with, if I haue done any. The Emperour was requested by my Lord my father, that at the least I might, according to the lawes, be first restored vnto the possession, in which my predecessor had bin, but he would not suffer it: only
he

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he suffered me (being notwithstanding spoyled) to followe my right by iustice and lawe, wherein he left me at the least, some gapp, because he did not let me, from debating my right againit him, when the cause was called forth to the parliament of Malines. But the sonne (who notwithstanding dare vpbraide me with his good turnes) seeing the cause readie to receaue iudgement, the very selfesame day that the processe and controuerisie should haue bin cleared, & the aduise of the President and Counsellours was already registred, and I had aduertissement giuen me, to seeke and prouide for siluer for the Iudges fees: he I say, forbad his courte to proceede any further, and left the processe hanging vpon the hooke or file, where it remayneth yet to this present. You see (my Lordes) that iustice was well ministred by him which had sworne the same to me; and to the Barons of this countrey. And these be the great aduauntages and profits, that I haue receaued from the house of Spaine: this is the foundation and groundworke of al their reproches: and vpon this is this infamous frame or building of Proscription, stayed and settled.

But if on the other side, I should come largely to laye out, howe much the house of Spaine is bounde to my predecessors (for concerning my selfe I will as yet say nothing) I am afraide to enter into so great a sea, which I can not passe ouer in many monethes, wherefore I will touche onely the principall matters, leauing vnto you my Lordes and to the readers, the particular searching and finding out of the saide boundes, in the histories and auncient recordes of this countrey.

He that of the house of Austriche, firste came into the lowe countreis, and that a longtime after that my predecessours helde therein, both Counties and Baronneis, was the Emperor Maximilian, then Archduke of Austriche. Nowe who knoweth not, that the Countie Engelbert my great vncl, was he who maintayned and vphelde the saide Emperour, imploying his goodes, his life, and his witt, for the preservation of him? Was it not the Countie Engelbert, together with my Lorde of Romont, that obtayned the victorie of Guinegaste, hauing by his courage kept the footemen together, when as the horse-

My Lorde
Engelbert
Countie of
Nassau.

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men had broken the rancke and order, by meanes whereof, the great conquest of King Lewis the eleventh was stayed and let, which thing dyd afterwarde, assure Maximilians state and condition? Was it not he, which vpon his returne out of prison out of Fraunce, founde Maximilian wonderfully troubled in Flaunders, against my Lorde of Rauestain, and those of Bruges, who also preuayled so much by armes and by counsel, that a truce and conclusion was made, who was once againe the cause, to vpholde and mainteyne the saide Archduke, and who in like sorte caused the accorde made with the inhabitants of Bruges, to be mainteyned, whereof euen yet at this day, there do remaine notable markes and tokens, both of his fidelitie, and of the thankfulness of the inhabitants of Bruges? It is the verie same Engelbert, that subdued those that rebelled against him, about the borders of the Rhine, and established the saide Emperour quiet in his countreis of Oultremeuze: that I may speake no more of the daungerous voyages attempted for the saide Emperour, as that voyage into Brytan for the treatie of mariage betweene the saide Lorde Archduke, & the Ladie Anne heire of the Dutchie, and afterwarde twise Queene of Fraunce, which matter he so well followed, that all was agreed and further proceeding should haue bin made therein, sauing that my Lord Iohn Prince of Orange, father of my Lord Philibert, dashed all, and procured the mariage of the said Ladies consin germaine, with Charles the French king. And the merites and valures of the saide Lord Countie, were in those countreis so great, that he was made Lieutenaut general thorough out the lowe countrie.

The saide
Countie Lieu-
tenant ge-
nerall from
the time of
Duke Char-
les.

My Lorde
Henry, Coun-
tie of Nassau.

The successour and heire of the saide Lorde Countie Engelbert, and of his goodes which he had in these countreis, was my Lorde the Countie Iohn of Nassau, his brother, and my great vncl, and after his death, there succeeded him my Lorde the Countie Henrie my vncl, the eldest sonne of the said Lord Countie Iohn, and his heire in the goodes and possessions he had here in Brabant, Luxenbourg, Hollande and Flaunders: and my Lorde the Countie William my father, was his heire, in the goodes and possessions which he had in Germanie.

No

P R I N C E O F O R A N G E .

No man can denie, that in his time there was anie Lorde in all these countreis, who laboured more in the seruice of the Emperour Charles, than he. And to the ende, I be not ouerlong in reciting that which is so well knowne, I will onely in a worde tell you, that it was he, that put the imperiall crowne vpon the Emperours heade, hauing so earnestly followed this matter, euen then, when the Emperour, in respect of his young age, & by reason of his absence (for he was in Spaine) was not able to pursue the same, that he perswaded the Princes Electours to preferre the Emperour before the Frenche King, who earnestlie laboured to obteyne the saide election. And as euerie one knoweth, that this imperial crowne was the bridge, which afterwarde made a passage to the Emperor, to obtaine so manie conquestes : so none can denie, but that the acknowledgement thereof, ought to be giuen to the saide Lorde Countie. But can anie man shewe me at this present, so much as one marke or note of recompence, or one onely good turne that our stocke hath receaued from the house of Spaine? Men may see in sundrie places of these countreis, peeces of ordinaunce, with the armes of Hungarie vppon them, which the King of Hungarie gaue to my predecessours, in testimonie and remembrance of that their vertue and strength, which they had imployed and shewed in their seruice against the Turkes, certaine of which peeces were violently taken from me, & caried away by the Duke of Alua, out of my house of Breda, when he played the tyraunt in this countrey, and yet some of them remaine there to this day. Which thing I put downe to declare, that so long as these peeces shall last, so long also shall the notes and markes of my auncestours vertue indure, & there shall remaine also, a notable testimonie which the King of Hungarie hath giuen them. But, as my predecessours haue bin so noble, and by the grace of God, & the good gouernemēt of their things, were neuer yet poore : so they neuer yet demaunded any thing of the Princes of these countreis, neither yet receaued any thing as of free gift, and yet I am sure, that the imperial Crowne at the least, deserued some one recompence or other. I confesse that the succession of Challon, and of the Principedome of O-

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range, was a great increase vnto our house, but if we be bound to any for that, truly it is to the great King Frauncis, who gaue in mariage to the Lord myne vncle, the sister of my Lorde the Prince Phillibert, the daughter of my Lorde the Prince Iohn, who was nourished and brought vp with Queene Anne, the Graūdmother of the said Lord King, & whose Cousin the said Princes was. And thus you here see (my Lordes) the honestie and good behauiour of this Monarche of Fraunce. The Emperour got and receaued his crowne by the paines and tra-uayles of my vncle: Frauncis the King (who knew all, that the saide Lord had done, for his Competitor, that is, for him that sought to be Emperour as well as he) ceased not for all that, to giue him this Princesse in mariage, who was not the supposed heire only, but the verie heire in deede of my Lorde the Prince Philibert, the saide King confessing, that he ought not to be displeased with him, who had constantly followed that parte which he tooke vpon him to followe: In so much that I may say of him, as the Historiographers of his time said, that it was an assured testimonie of a noble and liberall hart in the Prince. And albeit, the Emperor had graunted some thing, to the memorie of my Lord the Prince Rhene, & that (according to the last appointment) he had graunted some extraordinarie pri- uiledge and benefit vnto his will: should this I beseech you be a sufficient recompence, yeelded to so faithful and so excellent seruices as he had perfourmed, who was so valiaunt and so cou- ragious a Prince, & had done for him so many duties, hauing by force of armes, not onely recovered for the Emperour the damage of a battaile lost, but also hauing againe cōquered for him the Dutchie of Gelderlande, and in fine he him selfe yeel- ded vp his spirite at the Emperours feete, and that for his ser- uice?

The Prince
Rhene.

What shall I neede to speake of Prince Philibert, who alone obtayned for him Lombardie, and the Kingdome of Naples, and with my Lord the Duke of Burbō, assured him of the state of Rome, and tooke the Pope for him as a prisoner: and to be shorte, hath giuen him a heape of all excellencie and blessed- nesse? And yet nowe his sonne will come, reproching the re- mem-

membraunce of such Princes, and will saie, that the Emperour hath executed iustice to their successor and cousin . Nowe if they of Nassau had not liued heretofore: if they of Orāge, had not done so many deedes of armes, before that the King was borne, he would not haue put so many titles in the beginning of this Proscription, by which he doth fallie & flanderouslie pronounce me a trayterous and wicked persone, which as yet neuer hath fallen out, and I hope neuer shall fall out in anie of my race. But let them aunswere me, by whose commaundement the Cardinall of Graundvelle, impoisoned the last Maximilian the Emperour, whilest he was the King of the Romans, I knowe what he tolde me concerning that matter, and that afterwarde he was so afraide of the King and the Spaniardes, that he was altogether fearefull, to make profession of that religion, which he knewe notwithstanding to be the best.

He proceedeth and saith, *that he hath as it were in order of succession, continued and increased more and more my state and countenaunce, hauing made me of his order, afterwarde Lieutenant generall in the gouernement of Hollande, Zeelande, Vtrecht, and Burgundie, of his counsell of Estate, and that he hath bestowed vpon me sundrie good turnes and honours .* As concerning benefites, I can not at any hande confesse it, vnlesse a man will call the great expences that I haue bin at, as well for the seruice of the Emperour, as of the King, benefites . For they which liued at that time, and speciallie in the Kinges time, may wel remember, howe the Court alwayes was greatlie accompanied, with the nobilitie of fundrie and diuers nations, and for the most parte, with the nobilitie of Germanie. Nowe, euery one knoweth, that my house laye alwayes open, and that ordinarie I was to make the discharge and defraying of all charges, bearing the expences of the Court, with a verie little allowance and order, that was made on the Kinges behalfe. Euerie one knoweth also, the great and excessiue expences, that I was of necessitie to bee at in the voyage, in whiche both agaynst my will, and likewise against fundrie protestations made to the Emperour, and also to the Queene of Hungarie, I was constrained, to carrie the Crowne of the

An obiection touching the benefites and honors bestowed by the king of Spaine vpon the saide Lorde Prince.

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Empire to Ferdinando the Emperour, and herevnto I was the more vnwilling, because it seemed not reasonable vnto me, that I should carrie from my Maisters head the crowne, which in times past had bin sett therevpon by my predecessors. After this, I made the voyage into Fraunce, wherein I was sent for one of the pledges, appointed for the establisshment and execution of the peace made at Chasteau in Cambresis, whiche brought vnto me also great expences and extreame charge, in so much that I can in these three pointes (vnto which adde also the charges that I was at, in the last warres, & specially those at the towne Philippe and Charlemont, where I was generall) verely assure you, that I spent more than fifteene hūdrēd thousande Floreins, and yet notwithstanding, the Chamber of account or Exchequor, may easely assure men of this, that I neuer had so much as one farthing, in recompence for these seruices: yea that being Lieutenaunt generall of the armie, I did not receaue for all charges, but three hundred Florins a moneth, which was not sufficient to pay the sernaunts that pitcht my tentes: yea also if the Queene of Hungarie were yet aliue, she could wel remember, that which she spake vnto me, when the Emperour (perceauing him selfe to be in the greatest extremitie that euer he was, partly by the power of Duke Maurice, and of William the Lantzgraue, and partly by the powers of the Frenche King) made the peace of Passau, with as great losse to our house, which serued him with our great losse and charges, to preferue the Empire for him, as it had before obteyned the same for him. For, albeit in an open assemblie of the Empire, the Emperour, being by the aduise of the Electours set in his throne and Imperiall seate, had iudged, & that by a definitiue sentence, that we should haue the Countie or Earledome of Catzenellenboghē, with more than twoo millions of Florins for arrerage, he made notwithstanding his peace with our losse, putting, by the agreement of Passau, our aduerse parties in the possession thereof without any recompence giuen to vs. Which thing I propoūde not at this present, to stirre vp againe anie contention, seeing that our house hath since that time, agreed, with the most famous house of
the

The peace
 of Passau.

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the Lantzgraues of Hessen, whose good kinsmen and seruantes we are: but to the end we may make the whole world to vnderstand, the great benefits that we haue receaued, from the house of Spaine, and that euerie one may knowe, who it is that by good right is to be taxed for ingratitude and vnkindnes. And this (my Lordes) is not the like firste parte that they haue shewed vs. For my Lorde the Prince Rhene, being at that tyme the eldest of our house, pursuing so courageously the warre of Cleue lande, the Emperour promised him, that he would neuer conclude peace, with the Duke of Cleue lande, but vpon condition, that he should leaue vnto vs peaceable, the thirde parte of the Dutchie of Iuilliers, which appertayned vnto vs, by the succession of my Lorde, the Countie Iohn of Nassau my great vncle, and Margaret the Countesse of Iuilliers and of Marck: notwithstanding, perceauing him selfe to be the Conquerour, he made peace with him as pleased him, forgetting that this victorie, was obteyned to his handes, by the trauayle and valiauntnesse, of my faide Lorde and cousin.

Peace made
vwith my
Lorde the
Duke of
Cleue.

As concerning the honours, which he saith he hath done me, I will neuer denie, as I haue saide heretofore, but that the Emperour did greatlie honour me, whilest he nourished me & made me of his Chamber, by the space of nine yeeres, and afterwarde in my two first warres, hauing appointed me & giuen me charge ouer all his ordinaunce, in these countreis.

The hon
ours.

And albeit, that I was not then one and twentie yeeres olde, yea though I were absent from the Court, at my Lordship of Bueren, notwithstanding (the Duke of Sauoie attempting a voyage) the Emperour him selfe chose me for generall of the armie, albeit that the Lordes of the Couñsel, yea & the Queene hir selfe, did present thereto sundrie other persons, whose capacitie and vnderstanding was verie great, as my Lordes the Counties of Boussu, of Lalaing, Martin van Rossem, olde Knights and Souldiers, and the Counties of Arenbergh, of Meghem, and of Egmont, who was twelue yeeres elder than I.

My lord the
prince made
generall of
the armie at
the age of
21 yeeres.

All this notwithstanding, albeit that no man named me, (as afterwarde they affirmed to the Emperour) by reason of my youth,

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youth, yet so it was, that it pleased the Emperour to chuse me, for the reasons which then he declared, & which the Queene of Hungarie, inforcing me to take the charge vpon me, caused me afterwarde to vnderstande, which also I like better for this present time to conceale, than to declare, least I might seeme, ouermuch to prayse, prise, and esteeme my selfe. I saye yet more, that it pleased the Emperour (my Lordes) then to cause me to come from the campe, when he declared vnto you, the will and purpose that he had to put ouer his kingdomes, into the handes of his sonne the King, and it pleased him yet further so much to honor me, that he would not perfourme this solenipne act in my absence, yea he presented himselfe amongst you in your assemblie, leaning vpon me by reason of his infirmitie, which thing sundrie at that time thought was a verie great honour vnto me. But be it so, that since that time, the King had bestowed vpon me some honours, yet I cannot see, howe after anie sorte he can preuaile or get anie thing thereby, seeing that contrarie to all right and reason, yea contrarie to his owne othe, he hath gone about to take them from me.

As concerning the order, if the Emperour and the Colledge or companie of the Knightes thereof, haue giuen me their voyce, I am no more bounde to him therefore, than to other Knightes, seeing it was necessarie for him to allowe of that, which the Colledge approued, euen as he him selfe knoweth, that we, in the last assemblie of the order, helde in these countreis, did, by pluralitie of voyces, without his aduise, and against his will, chuse sundrie Knightes of the order, and caused them so to be receaued and accepted. But be it, that I were indebted to him therefore, yet so farre of is it, that he may reproche or vpbraide me therewith, that on the other side, he him selfe is to be therefore greatly charged. He hath sworne, and it is also contayned in the pointes that concerne the order, that the Knightes of the order, should be iudged by their brethren, that is, them of the same order. Verely, it was neuer in the power of Duke Philipp surnamed the Good, to inforce my Lorde Iohn of Luxenbourg, to forsake the othe
which

The priuiledges of the order.

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which he had made, to the King of Englande, the said Lorde of Luxenbourg, committing the determination of the matter in controuersie betweene them, to the Colledge & companie of the Knightes of the orders. But the brethren, which the King hath appointed to my Lordes, the Counties of Egmount and of Hornes, to the Marques of Bergues & of Montignie, for their triall, were porters, petiefoggers, and people of no account, by which also he hath caused me to be cōdemned, against all order and course of law, euen as I haue heretofore protested, and haue alleadged the insufficiencies thereof, in the presence of all Europe. In so much, that hee him selfe hauing done against his owne othe, and against the orders and articles of the Colledge or companie, he is at no hande to be hearde, in such reproches as these are, wherein there are founde the ingraued markes, of his owne othe being violated and brokē. And beside, if I ought to yeeld thanks to anie of the order, for the gouernementes and other dignities that I haue, it must be to the Emperour, whose minde it was, & who had so decreed the same, before he would depart out of this cōtrei, hauing before known the duties that I had performed, & my faithfulness, namely in respect of my seruices yeelded, in the gouernemēt & guiding of his armie, wherein I haue for witnes, my Lord of Neuers, and the late my Lorde of Chastillō Admiral of Fraunce, who in deed made vs afterwards to know, that he was our aduerse partie: all which notwithstanding, they gained nothing (thanks be to God) vpo me, but I builded in despite of their beards, the town Philippe, & Charlemōt, albeit that the plague, did very strōgly afflict our armie.

As concerning the gouernemēt of Burgūdie, I can certainly assure al mē, that I haue not receiued any thing, but that which my predecessours haue at all times mainteyned, as appertayning vnto them by inheritaūce, and in deede my Ladie Philibert of Luxenbourg (my Lorde the Prince Philibert hir sonne being in Italie) caused the Estates of Burgundie to assemble and meet, in the Town of Nozeroy. And because that some thought it not meete and conuenient, because my sayd towne was vpon one of the Frontiers of the Countie of Burgundie,

The gouernement of Burgundie.

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she answered, that she ment to mainteine the possession, of the Lordes of the house of Challon, who were by inheritaunce Gouvernours of the Countie of Burgundie. But be it whatsoeuer it be, the behauiours of the King towards me do sufficiently declare, that he can not object vnto me these honours, which against all rules of honor, he goeth about to take from me, together with my life and goodes, hauing by violence taken from me mine owne Sonne, against all lawe, either of God or man, yea against the priuiledges of the countrie, which he sware to obserue at his glad entraunce into it.

Counsellor
of the estate

As concerning the chardge and office of Counsellour of Estate, I haue sufficiently inough declared in my defence made heretofore, in the yeere sixtie seuen, that the Cardinall and others practised this matter, that I might be called thereto, thinking thereby to cloake and couer them selues, onely with my authoritie before the people, and therefore I ought not to thinke my self bounde vnto them for this, because, that in doing this they sought not so much myne aduantage, as their owne profit. But if they be deceaued of their hope, they must attribute it, either to their owne want of capacitie, as not being able wisely inough to order and direct their enterprises, or els (which in deede is more true, for they dyd not want witt & vnderstanding) that their wickednesse was growen so great, so apparaunt, and so palpable, that no man was able to indure them, but that they were cast out of the countrey, as a venime or poyson, yea as a publicke plague.

Of the last
marriage of
the saide
Lord Prince

Nowe, for as much as they haue not onely directed themselves against my person, accusing me of vnthankfulness and vnfaithfulness, but euen as rage and madnes doth equallie byte the whole worlde, as wel the innocent as he, whom men iudge culpable: so their petulancie, and disorder hath bin so great, as that they haue desired, to touche & taint the honour of my wife, by the blame which they suppose to laye vppon my last marriage: I knowe not, whether I may iudge them more to be condemned in impudeucie, or in beastlines, whilest that these skilfull men, who boast them selues to be so good painters, knowe not as yet to practise that lesson, which is so often saide
and

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and repeated, by the meanest schollers that be, that is, that he that prepareth him selfe to speake euill of an other man, ought to be exempted from all crime and faulte. For this argueth great impudencie and rashenesse, if men knowe their notable faultes, and yet will notwithstanding passe ouer their owne thornes and thissels, as if they were roles: or if they knowe them not, what beastlines & blockishnes doth this argue, not to perceauie and see that, which euerie houre of a daye offereth it selfe, to their eyes and sight? They see euery day before them an incestuous king, which is one onely halfe degree, nigh vnto Iupiter, the husbando of Iuno, his owne sister, & yet they dare reproch me, with a holy, an honest, and a lawfull mariage, made according to Gods worde, and celebrated according to the ordinaunces of the Church of God. And againe I am here inforced to beseeche you (my Lordes) not to thinke of me that, which as yet you haue neuer seene in me, to witt, that by their wicked speeches, I am moued, to laie open these abominable biles, and to sett before the eyes of al the worlde, the benumbednes and hardnes of such consciences, as these men carrie, but rather that it would please you to impute it, to this rage and desperate madnes of the enemies of God, of the enemies of all Christendome, and your enemies particularly, who are inflamed & set on fire against me, for no other reason, but for this, that they knowe, the great care, diligence, and faithfulness, that I haue had for your preservation. He then, that hath married his Neice, dare reproche vnto me my mariage, a mariage I saye, verie lawfull and according to Gods order. He I say, dare vpbraied me with my mariage, who (to the end he might obtaine such a mariage) hath cruelly murdered his owne wife, the daughter and sister of the kings of Fraunce (as I vnderstande they haue in Fraunce, informations and instructions concerning that matter) yea his lawfull wyfe, the mother of two daughters, the true heires of Spaine, as I doubt not, but that the Crowne of Fraunce (the whiche heretofore hath giuen the Crowne of Castille, to a bastard of whom Philip is descended, dispossessing a tyraunt thereof, though he were lawfully borne thereto) shal haue no lesse power, to main-

The murder of the
Queene of
Spaine.

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teyne and keepe it for the true heires, if God which is a iust Iudge, and neuer suffereth such wickednesses vnpunished, doo not take vengeance of it in his life time, depriuing him of his estate, which thing he hath most rightly deserued, although he had not committed anie other faulte but this incest, accompanied with so abhominable a murther. But you wil say, he had a dispensation for it. From whom? From the Pope of Rome, which is a god in earth. Verely I beleue that, for the God of heauen would neuer haue cōsented thereto. But what was the groundworke and foundation of this earthly, heauenlie dispensatiō? For soth this, that he must not leaue so goodlie a kingdome without an heire: and marke wherefore there was added, to the former horrible faultes, a most cruell murther, the father vnnaturally murthering his owne childe and heire, to the ende that by that meanes, the Pope might haue a gapp open, to giue a dispensation, for so execrable an incest, abhominable to God and men. If therefore we saye, that we do reiecte the gouernement of such an incestuous king, the slayer of his sonne, and the murtherer of his wife, who can iustlie accuse vs therefore? Howe many Kinges haue there bin, which haue bin banished and driuen out of their kingdomes, which had not committed such horrible crimes? For as concerning Don Charles his sonne, was he not to be in all likelihood, our Lord and Maister? And though the father could alledge against his sonne a iust cause of death, did not this matter belong vnto vs, who had so great interest therein, rather to iudge thereof, than to three or foure Friers and Inquisitors of Spaine? But it may be, that he made conscience to leaue him for his heire, whom he knewe to be borne in vnlawfull marriage, because that at the time, that he seemed to marie the daughter of Portugale, the mother of Don Charles, he was married to the Ladie Isabella Osorius, by whom also he had two or three children, whereof the first was named Don Pedro, and the seconde sonne was named Don Bernardino: of which mariage Rigomes the Prince of Yuoli, if he were liuing, could giue a good and sufficient testimonie, for he

was

The mur-
ther of the
Prince of
Spaine.

The mari-
age of the
K. of spaine
vwith the La-
die Isabel
Osorius.

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was the procurer thereof, whereby also he obtrayned that great credite, and so much goodes in Spaine, the which they do at this present, vnkindlie sucke and drawe from his widowe, as it were with a sponge. Nowe, if he haue so well behaued him selfe, in that supposed mariage, that mariage also which he hath made with the daughter of Fraunce, hath not as yet bin more happie. For beside the murther of the Queene his wife, it was also made noble, by an adulterie, excellling all other adulteries, that is, that he kept ordinarie and common houlholde, with the Ladie Eufrafia, who being become great with childe by him, he inforced the Prince of Ascoli to marie hir, and at the ende of a certayne tyme, the poore Prince (as the ministers of the Kinges tyrannie saye) died for grieve, because, that hauing to strong an enemye, he was not able to remedie this, but that an other mans bastarde shoulde be his heire. But they that speake more certainlie of this matter, affirme, that he receaued a morsell more easie to swallowe downe, than to digest. And yet he, who is decked with a crowne of three such mariages, being I saye, him selfe three tymes such a husbände, dare vpbraide and reproch me with my mariage.

The adulterie
with the
Ladie Eufrafia.

But suppose that he were not so defiled, and that we might count him for a guiltles person, yet for all that I feare him not, as though he were able to reproche me with any faulte, and thanks be to God, I haue not done any thing, but verie aduisedlie, and that by the counsell of sundrie honourable, wise, and discreet persons. Neither is it needfull, that he should traualle much in that matter, wherein he hath no interest, but to beholde and see, and of which also I am not bounde, to yeeld him any account or reason. For as concerning my wife that dead is, she was alied to Princes of verie great credit, to wyse & honourable Princes, who I doubt not, but that they are fullie satisfied in that behalf, & if I would enter further into that discourse, I could easely make it to appeare vnto him, that the most skilful of his doctors cōdemne the same. As concerning the mariage, by which I am alied at this presēt, albeit that thei

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the sonne of the saide Countie Ottho, married the Ladie of Leck and of Breda, from whom also, I am in the right male line descended, and that in the fifth degree. May I therefore by any good right, be called a straunger? And that I may saye nothing at this present time, of the goodes which I haue in Burgundie, where I haue (thankes be to God) a verie good portion, maie I iustly be counted a straunger? And I leaue it to you (my Lordes) to iudge, who knowe better our lawes, than anie people of the worlde, howe our Auncestors haue vsed it, time out of minde, and whether the Lordes of Rauestain, of Luxenbourg, and of Saint Paule, of Neuers, of Estampes, and other Lordes, holding Counties and Baronneis in this countrey, were accounted for straungers, and whether yet at this day, you account not as naturalles of the countrey all those, which possesse such Lordshippes, so that they wil take part with these countreis: and haue we not for that in deede an expresse lawe amongst vs, as well in Brabant as in other places? For, as concerning the title of the Duke of Brabant, Countie of Flaunders and others, which he beareth and braggeth of, albeit I confesse these dignities to be great, yet notwithstanding, if he and his Spaniards knowe it not, they must learne this, that the Barons of Brabant, with the good townes and cities of the Countrey, haue in deede (when the Dukes of Brabant haue so farre forgotten them selues, that they haue passed the boundes of reason) verie well taught them, what was the power of the Barons, and generally of the Estates of the countrie of Brabant. Nowe it is manifest, that I am descended from such Lordes, as for sundrie ages together, haue possessed the principal Baronneis and Lordshippes of Brabant, Flaunders, Hollande, and Luxenbourg. But I hope, that my Lordes the Estates, haue so well begunne to declare vnto him, howe much he hath fayled in his dutie: and also that the saide Lordes will hereafter take him forth so good a lesson, that the poore people of Sicilia, Calabria, Lombardie, Arragon, and Castille, will learne by our example, that this tyraunt ought not to be suffered on the earth: yea that the poore people of Granata them selues, will knowe, howe they ought to handle
such a

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such a tyraunt, who in the time of the warre with the Moores, caused to be imprisoned, about an hundred marchauntes, inhabitauntes of Granata, all of them being Christians, of which the least was worth, fiftie thousande Ducates, and afterwarde, by a hurlie burly amongst the people, caused them to be slaine, putting into his coffers all the goodes of those poore people. And to be short, my Lordes the Estates (God ayding them) wil teache them, how such must be handled, that will falsifie their othes made and giuen to so good a people, at their ioyfull entraunce.

But (my Lordes) if I come to proceede further, and should beginne largely to laye out before you, the long time past, in which my predecessours, had not onely their beginning here, but were also Lordes, and possessed great goodes, titles, and dignities in these countries, I might saie vnto you, that at the time that his predecessours, were Counties of Habsbourg, & remained in Switserlande, myne were long time before Lordes of the Countrey of Gelderlande, whereof yet at this present, there are remaining the armes of our house of Nassau, for the armes of the Duke of Gelderland, and we haue not (as it were) passing by it, kept the saide countrey in possession, but, after that my Lorde the Countie Ortho, had married the daughter and heire of the Voght or Regent of Gelderlande (for so did men name at those dayes the Lordes of Gelderlande) which continued from the yeere 1039. vntill the yeere 1350. my predecessours were the Lordes, Counties, and Dukes of the Countrey of Ghelderlande, as yet euen to this day men maye beholde the monumentes and markes thereof. And I assure my selfe, that so farre of is it that he, that calleth me a straunger, can shewe such markes, that he had his originall and beginning from these countreis, that on the other side, his rase in the saide time, was altogether vnkowne, in the said countrey.

The Counties of Nassau, were the Counties & Dukes of Gelderland from the yere 1039, to the yere 1350.

And because that he inemployeth him selfe, to make a false, foolish, and ridiculous declaration, conteyning as he sayeth, the progresse and proceedings of my enterprise, because that many amongst you, when these matters were begunne,

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were not of competent age to vnderstande the same, or els because you hauing not then intermedled in the publike affaires, could not well see howe all thinges were directed and gouerned by the craft of the Cardinall and his fauourers, and by the counsell comming out of Spaine, which alwayes ment to commaunde this countrey, as it had done others, Spaine it selfe being in their opinion the head of our Lordshippes, and we their subiectes and sclaues, I wil for these causes recite vnto you, how al things haue bin gouerned, by these goodlie heads and wise braines (who suppose that the rest of the worlde are as beastes in respect of themselues) vntill they had brought vs within two fingers breadth of our destruction, and of a miserable bondage, if God by his prouidence had not watched ouer vs, and had not deliuered vs from their cruel counsels and bloodie handes. And, as I haue here neede, I do once againe beseeche you (my Lordes) of your patience, to continue well and quietly to heare me, as you haue already done, & I doubt not, but that as many among you haue seene the whole, or els some parte of my actes and behauiours, or els haue vnderstoode it from their fathers, and other good people, whiche haue bin witnesses thereof: so hauing hearde me, ye wil as easelie iudge my wordes to be as true, as those of mine enemye are false and shamelesse. I will not (my Lordes) recite vnto you anie thing of that, which I haue seene in the Emperours time, not because I did not perceauē sundrie matters set out & practised by the Spaniardes, which I approued not as good, and of which I did not sufficiently conceaue, that the disease in proceesse of time, might growe so farre, that in the ende it should be verie necessarie to vse, a strong and powerfull medicine, and to purge the countrey, from these pernicious and hurtfull Spanishe humours. But because I was not able then, by reason of myne age and the little experiēce I had, to knowe the deepe malice of the Spaniardes and their adherentes, I could hardlie perswade my selfe, that we should be inforced to bring, a whot yron to this cancker of Spaine, or els to come so farre, as to roote it out. But after that, together with my age, I began to be of a more setled and sounde iudgement, I had in
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in deede a contrarie opinion, and deliuered the same to sundrie others, which neuer knewe to thinke, that the rage and crueltie of the Spaniardes, could proceede so farre : for nothing fell out, by which I might haue verie particular knowledge, of their cruell, couetous, and proude naturall disposition, but I certainly and assuredly looked for the same long time before. I will therefore let passe that time, which cometh not also at anie hande to be compared, in any manner of disorder and tyrānie with that, which hath since fallen out in the time of the king his sonne, not that the Spaniardes were then better, than they are at this present : for, amongst the Indies and in other places, where they commaunded absolutely, they yeelded to euident a prooffe, of their peruerse, naturall disposition, and tyrannous affection and will. But their ambition and pride, was in some sorte restrained, by the good affection that the Emperour bare to the subiectes of this countrey : & because also, that these prouinces were full of braue Lords, wise and valiaunt men, fauoring of their auncient nobilitie, (and would to God they had children like vnto them) whiche serued in steede of a bridle against their insolencie, and of a countermure against their pride & rashnes. I will then come, to the time which insued, because also that he, who was the heire of the goodes, though not of the vertues of the Emperour, is he that cometh to assault me, after an order more than barbarous and tyrannicall.

The Emperour of most noble memorie, and the Queene Marie, seeing their affaires and businesses so impaired by the meanes of a cleane contrarie issue, of the warres of Germanie (which fell out otherwise then the Pope & the Spaniardes had promised to them selues) whilest that the Frenche king, was ioyned in league, with some of the chiefe Princes of Germanie, his Maiestie I saie, was inforced to agree with his enemy, his affaires standing in such condition, that despairing of his abilitie to keepe his owne countreis, he purposed to withdrawe him selfe into Spaine, and there to lead a priuate life, after that he had yeelded vp all his kingdomes, Landes, and Lordships, and had laide them vpon the person of his sonne. And albe-

The Emperour dischargeth himselfe of his kingdomes and Lordships, & committeth them to his sonne.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

it, that the King, because of the condition of his owne estate, had neede to vpholde his subiectes, in good will and affection towards him, (of which thing also he had most expresse commandement from his father) seeing, that of the meanes and valure that they had, there did wholie depende, the sauegard of the countrey, and the maintenaunce of his owne honour: yet, whether it were by reason of the nourishment whiche he had in Spaine, or by the counsell of those, which then did, and euen to this time haue possessed him, I knowe not, he hath alwaies fostered in his hearte, a minde to make you subiect, to a certaine simple and absolute bondage, which they call, a full and whole obedience, depriuing you altogether, of your ancient priuiledges and liberties, that they may dispose of you, your wiues, and your children, and handle you, as his officers haue done the poore Indians, or at the least as they do, the people of Calabria, Sicilia, Naples, and Millaine, whilst they remember not, that these countreis, are not countreis atcheiued by conquest, but come for the most parte by they way of patrimonie, or els such as willingly gaue vp them selues vnto his predecessours, vnder good and lawfull conditions. But it is likely that he did it by the aduise of such, as serued the Emperour his father, and the King his great vncl, in steede of a foundation, the better to reare vp, the building of the kingdomes and Lordshippes, to which we see, the house of Austriche hath attained, it being at this day, without all controuerisie, the greatest, & the mightiest of all Christendome. And this affection in him, was not but to much made manifest, immediatly after the departure of the Emperour, as if the Lordes that then liued, did yet remaine amongst vs, they could yeelde you sufficient testimonie thereof. For euen so soone as he was constrained to enter into warr with the French king, considering the power of his enemye, ad also the wise aduertisements of the Emperour, if he had had but one only sparke of good & sincere affection, towards these countreis, he should at the least haue mainteined, his subiects in good deuotion & affectiō towards him. But in the midst of his great affaires (so disorderous & vnruely was the desire he had to plaie the tyraūt) he gaue forth
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a most plaine & most certaine demonstration of his euill will. The Emperor, who (my Lords) knew better, then any Prince or man of the world, the arrogant and proude nature of the Spaniardes, and it may be also, the inclinatio of the King his sone, and on the other side, the state of this countrey, & whatsoever might destroy & preserue it, did seriously aduertise his sonne, that if he kept his pride of Spaine, he should diligently foresee, that he were not the cause, of the vtter ruine and destruction of this estate, which could not long suffer & endure, this same proude gouvernement, which the Spaniardes exercise in euery place where they can. And he gaue him this exhortation, in the presence of the late my Lord the Countie of Bossu, the father of him that last deceased, and in my presence also, and in the presence of fundrie other Lordes of his chamber, of which some are yet at this day liuing. But neither the authoritie and commaundement of his father, nor the profit of his owne affaires, nor iustice, nor his othe, (whiche yet notwithstanding doth keepe in the most barbarous nations) were able in anie thing, to moderate and restraine, the naturall disposition and affection that he had, to tyrānise ouer vs, but on the other side, as though he had bin aboue all lawes, priuiledges, and liberties of the countrey, yea and aboue equitie and iustice it selfe, he hath broken all bondes, that he might outrage in all maner of vnreconcilable hatred and crueltie.

The Emperors counsel giue to the King his sonne.

At the same time, you (my Lords) graūted vnto him the aide which was called Nouenale, by meanes of which aide, and by the valiauntnes and wise gouvernement of the Lords & nobles, of this our countrey, and of fundrie braue Lords and souldiers of Germanie, his affaires were so well and so blessedly guided, that after the winning of two battailes, the taking of townes, and prisoners of great calling, and that in great number also, he inforced his enemy, to accept a peace, as vnprofitable for the Frenche king, as it was honorable and profitable for the King of Spaine.

The aide called Nouenale.

And if it be lawefull for me to speake anie thing of my selfe, if hee haue but one droppe or sparke of gratitude and kindenesse in him, hee can not denie, but that I was one

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of the principall instrumentes and meanes, to cause him to come to so excellent, and to so profitable a peace, hauing priuately treated thereof, with my Lordes the Constable, Montmoranci, and the Marishall of Saint Andrewe, at the instant request of the King, who assured me, that the greatest seruice that I could performe vnto him in this worlde, was to make a peace, and that he purposed to haue it whatsoeuer it cost him, because he ment to go into Spaine. But so farre of was it, that eyther he or his counsell, consisting of Spaniardes, and of certaine other persons of this countrey (who alwayes continued in hatred against you, your libertie and the whole lande) did take in good parte, either this so good an aide, or the happie execution that insued thereof, that on the other side, they iudged this succour and aide, to be a fault of hie treason against his Maiestie, and for the which you (and aboue all other, the late my Lorde of Lalaing) had incurred, by good right, the sentence of punishment. And why so? Because you (my Lordes) would not agree to anie thing, without the assemblie of the Estates generall, and because you ment, to cutt the talents of these harpies and Rauenours of Barlemontes, and such like, when you decreed, that the money should be distributed by your commissioners, according to the conditions propounded vnto them. Beholde in deede two great faultes, the one for soth was, to demaunde a meeting and an assemblie of the Estates. For in asmuch, as it serueth for a bridle and a barre vnto tyrannie, it is a crime, so much the more hated of tyraunts (who are the deuourers of the people, and enemies of their subiectes, and of their owne crowne) as this noble assemblie, is loued, honoured, and reuerenced, of true Kinges, true Princes, and such as are the good fathers of the people, because it is in deede the true foundation of an Estate, the assuraunce of the common wealth, and the onely peace & quietnes of Princes. The other fault will neuer be pardoned, for these byters of the people, liuing with the blood of poore people, haue so long time made account of their theeueries and sackings, that they suppose their spoyles, to be as good, and as an assured reuenue (yet much more frutfull) as their fieldes and gardens,
and

PRINCE OF ORANGE.

and dissembling the true cause of the mischief, whiche they hide from their Princes, they seeke pretextes and cloakes in flattering of them, and in lying vnto them, to harden and to set on fire, their heartes against their subiectes. I haue seene (my Lordes) their doings, I haue hearde their wordes, I haue bin a witnes of their aduise, by which they adiudged all you to death, making no more account of you, than of beastes, if they had had power to haue murthered you, as they do in the Indies, where they haue miserablie put to death, more than twentie millions of people, and haue made desolate & waste, thirtie tymes as much lande in quantitie and greatnes, as the lowe countrie is, with such horrible excesses and ryottes, that all the barbarousnes, cruelties, and tyrannies, whiche haue euer bin comitted, are but sport, in respect of that, which hath fallen out vpon the poore Indians, which thing, euen by their owne Bishoppes and Doctours, hath bin left in writing, and, to make the King without excuse before God and men, the historie thereof was dedicated vnto him, by one of his owne subiectes, in whom there remained, as it should seeme, some smal sparke of iustice. From that time then (my Lordes) I, and other Lordes, and sundrie of the best & wisest personages, both of the nobilitie, and of the common people, thought it good, to cause (if we could) the Spaniards to departe out of the cōtrey, thinking in deede, that, albeit there were yet remayning some corrupt blood amongst vs, as verely we see, ther is more remayning then were meet, which did proceede, from this infected race, of the contagion of the fathers, who serued at that time, the ambition of the Spaniardes, and followed the Cardinalls busines, yet notwithstanding, that the better number, and all the Lordes of the greatest credit and countenaunce, would be enemies to this Spanishe tyrannie. But, partly thorow other busines, and partly, by reason of my voyage, & the going of some other Lordes into Fraunce, whether we were sent for hostages, as also to be present at the Frenche Kinges daughters mariage, the businesse it selfe was interrupted, and the perfourmance thereof hindered. Nowe so farre of is it (my Lordes) that I will denie a great part of that, which
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is set out against me, that I account it on the other side, a great prayse for me, and will (it may so fall out) tell you more thereof, than mine enemies knowe, and the more that they shall write against me, and giue a testimonie of their furie and enuions harte against this countrey, the more wil I reioyce herein, that it hath pleased God, to shewe me this grace, to be an ayder to cutt of the course, of this vnmeasurable tyrannie, and by that meanes also, to haue bin an afsistaunt, to the manifestation and opening, of the true Religion.

They say, that from the time, that the King turned his foote, from these lowe countreis, I haue, by sinister practises, sleighes and subtilties, assayed to gett the good willes of the Malcontentes, and of such persons, as haue bin greatlie indebted, haters of Iustice, desirous of nouelties, and specially of those that were suspected to be of the religio.

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As concerning them that had the knowledge of the religion, I confesse, that I neuer hated them. For, seeing that from the cradell, I was nourished therein, and that my Lord my father, had liued and died therein, hauing driuen out of his Lordshippes the abuses of the church : who is he, that will thinke it straunge, that, if this doctrine were after such sorte ingrauen in my heart, and had taken such deepe roote therein, it should come in good time, to bring forth hir fruites ? For, seeing that I was so long time brought vp, in the Emperors chamber, and being of the age to beare armes, I was euen then presently in-wrapped, with great charges in armies : for these reasons I say (and considering the scarcitie of good education that we had in respect of religion) it was no marueile, though I had then in my head, the feates of Chiuallrie, hunting, and other exercises, which youg noble men vse, rather than those things, which concerned my saluation. And yet notwithstanding I confesse, that I haue great occasion to prayse God, that he hath not suffered, this holie seed to be choked, which he him selfe hath sown in me, and I saye moreouer, that I neuer liked, of these cruell executions, of fier, of sword, of drownings, &c. whiche were at that time verie common, against those of the religion, as the scriuener or painter (for so he nameth him selfe) of this infamous Proscription, calleth them. Wherein, albeit he flatter,

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ter, lie, and flander altogether in other places, he hath notwithstanding spoken verie well in this behalfe, saying, those whom he condemneth to be of the religion, as in deede it only deserueth this name by excellencie, which thing also, the trueth it selfe hath wrong from his owne mouth, so great is the strength and power of the same trueth. But, when as I being in Fraunce, had vnderstoode by King Henrie his owne mouth, that the Duke of Alua, sought and spake of the meanes, to roote out all those, that were suspected to be of the religion, in Fraunce, and in this Countrey, and thorowe out all Christendome: and that the saide Lord King (who thought, that, as I was one of the Commissioners for the treatie of peace, and had had speache with him of such great matters, so I was also of that religion) had declared vnto me, the ground of the counsell of the King of Spaine, and of the Duke of Alua, I, to the ende I might not be, of lesse estimation with his Maiestie, as though he would hide any thing frō me, answered in such sorte, that the saide Lorde King, was not deceived in his iudgemēt, which also gaue him occasion, sufficiently inough, to discourse vnto me so much, as that thereby I might vnderstande, the ground of the purpose of the Inquisitors. I confesse, that I was at that time, in such sorte moued with pitie and compassion, towardses so many good people, as were appointed to slaughter, & generally towardses this whole countrey, to which I was so much bounde, & into which they ment to bring in an Inquisition worse & more cruel, than that of Spaine, yea that there were nets laid, to catch, euen the very noble men and the Lords of the countrey, as wel as the cōmon people, insomuch that they whom the Spaniards and their adherentes, were not able to supplant by any other way, might fall by this meanes into their hands, frō whence it was impossible to escape, because, that a man could behold nothing els, but a very laberinth, whereby they might be cōdemned to the fire: I, seing I say these things, do confesse, that from that time forward, I did earnestly attempt to helpe to driue out of the countrey, this vermin of the Spaniards, & I do not repent me, that I haue done it, but iudge rather, that I, and my Lords my

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companions, which fauoured this so laudable an enterprife, haue done a deede worthie of immortall prayse, and which in deede had bin altogether accóplished, and we by that meanes had atchieued the vpheaped measure of honour, if, after their gripes, we had as well shut the gate against them, so that they might neuer after haue entred in againe vppon vs, as we haue since founde out and had the meanes to purge the Countrey of them. And I saye yet somewhat more, vnto you (my Lords) and I wishe that the whole counsell of Spaine, yea that the whole worlde should vnderstande it, that if my brethren and companions of the order, and of the counsell of Estate, had liked rather to ioyne their counselles with mine, then to make so good and cheape a market of their own lines, al of vs would haue imployed, our bodies and goodes, that we might haue hindered the Duke of Alua and the Spaniardes, from entring againe into the Countrey: and I am yet euen at this present content, that they should vnderstande, that, as alreadie one parte of the countrey, is scoured from this filth, insomuch that there is not therein any remembraunce thereof, except it be of their bones: so I will not cease, by the power of God, and by the assistaunce of your fauour, (which I hope will neuer faile me,) to imploye all the power that I haue, with you (my Lords) to purge the whole countrey in generall, from this vermine, and to cause them and all their adherentes, to passe from hence ouer the Moútaignes, there to trouble their owne Countreis if they will, and to suffer vs to liue here, in peace and quiet possession, of bodies, goodes, and conscience. Wherefore they are deceaued verie much, when they thinke, that I attempted this worke, after their departure out of this countrey. For I did it then, whē I was in Fraunce, euen a hunting with the King, whilest they them selues were here, and I ceased not, till that by the meane, of the late Ladie of Sauoie, of most noble memorie, I had obtrayned leaue, to come againe into this countrey, vpon my faith and promise giuen, to returne againe to Reins, at the coronation of King Frauncis the seconde, and being come hither, I prouoked not banckerooutes, but good and honourable people, and of the chiefe & most

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most noble personages of the countrey, in the name of the Estates to demaunde, that the Spaniardes might be inforced to withdrawe them selues : which thing was at the last executed, and the enemies may remember (if they will) who were those good, and honourable personages, that brought them that most vnpleasaut message, who when they shall shewe themselves, the aduersaries shall knowe and confesse, their impudencies and slaunders.

But as concerning that which they saie, that I was the principall authour of the supplication presented and offered vp, I will in deede tell you (my Lordes) the whole matter, that is, that hauing once perceaued, that the mischief was growen so farre, that there was not now any more question, of burning onely the poore people, which suffered them selues to be cast into the fire, but, that sundrie of the best nobilitie, and of the principall men among the people, murmured thereat : I fearing some daungerous issue, as I had seene before mine eyes Fraunce it selfe to haue endured, a daungerous accesse of ciuill warre, for the like occasion : and doubting least we should be assailed in this countrey with the like disease, which commonly hath most daungerous accidentes, and effectes, more harde to heale, than the disease it selfe, as alas we do ouer much see it at this daye : seeing I saye, these thinges, in respect of the bonde wherewith I was bounde by reason of my othe, and, in respect of my dutie towards the countrey, I besought my Lordes my brethren, and companions, the Knightes & principall Counsellours of the Estate, to assemble together at Hoochstraten, with purpose to declare vnto them, the appa-
raunt daunger wherein the countrey was, to witte, of falling into ciuill warre, and that this was the true and onely meane to hinder it, that we, who by reason of our degrees and offices, had authoritie in the Countrey, should take the matter into our handes, and so to vse that remedie, which we shoulde finde most agreeable, for the countreis good, and onely to bring to passe, that the Cardinales creatures (who sought nothing, but effusion of blood, bannishmentes, confiscation of goodes, and to be shorte, woundes and murthers) should not

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deale therein, which had brought an assured destruction to the countrey, but rather that those which thought it not meet, that men should burne others according to their accustomed order, should not want a guide, who might lett and hinder him in his attempts. And albeit, I shewed them very many reasons, to cause them to condescende to my counsell, and that I had added thereto (beside the good will which was betweene vs) the aduise also of my Lorde the Countie of Schwartzembourg my brother in lawe, and the Lorde George van Hol, who had at that time verie great credit with the Lordes, for the euident and excellent seruices, whiche they had perfourmed to these countreis: yet it was not in my power to obtaine any thing, & this mutuall fight one of an other, did not profit me any whitt at all, sauing for a testimonie to all the worlde, that then, seeing the mischiefe a farre of, which now we see present vpon vs, I did seeke all the good meanes I could, to preuent & turne away the same. But they of whom I haue spokē, who thought these persecutions heard, and who sawe not so long as they endured, any assured rest in this countrey (which thing alwayes falleth out in such like affaires) began and laboured to propounde and broche newe enterprises, which, by reason of the offices I had, I founde out a meane to discouer: yet for all that, fearing least some most daungerous euent might insue therevpon, and supposing that this waie was the most milde, & verie lawelike or lawfull, I confesse, that I thought it not euill, that the request was presented, which thing so farre of is it, that I minde to dissemble, or coulor ouer, that I couēt it a most great profit, both for myne owne honor and reputation, and also for the seruice of the King and the countrey, for if the wise Counsellors of the King, had bin so well aduised as to yeelde therevnto, there had not insued so many miseries, by whiche, there wanteth but a litle, but that the whole countrey had bin consumed. But if they desire to knowe, the true & the nighest cause of the saide request, and of that which followed therevpon, let them ascribe it to their insatiable crueltie, which was not content, with the intollerable rigor of placardes and licences

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cences, but following the example of that foole Roboam, and beleeuing the counsell of an vnwise woman, of a Cardinall the Popes creature, and other such like, they saide, the father hath corrected you with roddes, but the sonne will chastise you with scorpions. Wherevpon there was set out, a most earnest pursuite, concerning the receauing of the newe Bishopps, (who were set vp but a litle while before) that is to say, so manie tormentours, to burne the poore Christians, then were the priuiledges troden vnder feete, and by whom? Verely by a passionate woman, who was yet notwithstanding armed, with the visar of a Kings power, and with the treason, periuries and subtelties of a Cardinall. Beholde I say, the stithie or andvile (my Lordes) vpon which was forged all the euill that insued, to wit, because they yeelded not, (as requisite and necessarie it was) to the request presented by the nobilitie, wherein I know, and I may protest it, before God and before you (my Lordes) that I did not therein commit any thing against myne Honor, and mine othe, but I aduertised the Dutchesse, & al the Lords of the Counsell, of the great inconueniences which afterwards fell out, infomuch that all the mischief insuing therevpon, must be imputed to them selues. For so farre of is it, that they would harké to me, that thei thought on the other side that they had founde, a matter or meane fit for to execute that, whiche they had a long time purposed and set before them, that is to saye, that after that they had destroied them, that were suspected to be of the religiõ, they might afterwards the more easely bring the rest, vnder a miserable and intollerable bondage. And not only were they admonished by me (my Lords) but also sundry, publike, and particular admonitions were giuen them by diuers others, both good people and louers of the countrey, yea and louers of the King also more then he deserued, and they did in good time aduertise him, of the daunger to come, and what was the Kinges dutie, by reason of his othe, of his obligations or bondes, and of the conditions vpon whiche he was receaued and admitted for Lorde of these Countreis, as also his auncestours were before him.

My Lord the Countie of Egmond him self, was sent into Spaine,

The Dutches of Parma, and the Cardinall Granduelle, were the cause of all the mischiefes in the lowe countreis.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

to shewe the said aduertisements, vnto the Kings own person, which notwithstanding so farre of was it that it could profite anie thing, that the said Lord Countie on the other side being deceaued, vnder the coulour of the word of a King (which afterwards cost him verie deare) brought letters altogether contrarie to that, which the King from his owne mouth, had giuen him in charge to speake, in somuch that then he was inforced to confesse, that I did before his iourney well foresee, that which should come thereof. And yet these schollers of Machiauell, would here bleare our eyes, with these goodlie shewes of loyaultie, fidelitie, naturall clemencie, and such golden and glorious wordes, and yet notwithstanding they make no difficultie, to playe with the othes which they take, & with the wordes that they giue, to men of such qualitie and countenance. Beholde then, the authours, promotors, and framers of the troubles, that haue fallen out by reason of the first request or supplication, and you haue vnderstoode (my Lordes) that this was the counsell that I haue giuen therein.

Touching
my lord the
Countie Lu
dovvick of
Nassau.

As concerning that which they speake, of the late my Lorde the Countie Lodowick my brother, they should do better, to leaue so good a Knight in peace and vnnamed, than to speake of him, seeing that he was much more honest then they, and without comparifon a better christian, and I make no more of this that they call him Hereticke, then our Lorde Iesus Christe did, when as good people as our enemies are, called him Samaritane.

Of the pub
like assem
blies of the
of the relig
gion.

As concerning publike preaching, which after their maner they call hereticall, you your selues (my Lordes) do sufficiently knowe, by whom and howe they were brought in. And albeit, that I had not at that time so much credit with them, as that they would demaunde my aduise therein, neither in deed did I euer counsell them : Notwithstanding, the matters being come to such termes, I confesse that I was of aduise, that the Dutchesse of Parma should yeelde vnto them, wherein if I haue giuen ill counsell, then that which followed afterwards, doth at the least sufficiently declare, whether those that supposed my counsell to be naught, haue verie well handled their

Masters

PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Masters affaires and busineses, but rather God hath manifestly shewed, that albeit he do for a time correct his own children, yet he neuer leaueth, a periurie so well qualified and notorious, as that of the Kinges & the Dutches of Parmes was, without greivouslie punishing it, to the ende that al the world may knowe, that he saith not without cause, that he will not holde him guiltles, who shall take his name in vaine.

As concerning the beaters downe of Images, and other disorders, I beleue (my Lords) that there is none amongst you, but he knoweth well inough, that such wayes and manners of doing, please me no whit at all, and that many of them, who should haue aided & sustained me, haue on the other side with great iniurie torne me in peeces, because I would neuer consent, that such things shuld be done, without some ordinaunce and decree of the Superiours and Gouvernours.

Cōcerning
Images beaten
downe
and ouer
throwen.

They haue no better foundatiō, then such as you haue heard before, for this that they saye, *that the providence and wise gouernement, of the Dutchesse of Parma was so great, that I was enforced to depart out of the countrey.* It may be, that they shoulde say somewhat, if they would saie, that the deceites of the Dutchesse & hir periuries, were the cause thereof: or if they would speake, of the small resolution, and of the ouer great easinesse to beleue that some had, who looked continually for the hangmen and tormentours, and of the ouer great affection, that I and other great Lordes had towards the King, who perswaded my Lordes of Berghes, and of Montignie to go into Spaine, supposing, that for their good seruices, & the nobilitie of their race, the King him selfe would be content, to vnderstande by their mouth, that which was necessarie for the preservation of the countrey, rather than to heare it by the Spaniardes: but seeing that they were intreated in such sorte, as euery one knoweth, I thought, that I had iust occasion, more nighlie to take heede vnto my self, than before. If they would say these things were the cause, they should speake some peece of the trueth. But I was resolued a yeere before, to depart and to giue vp my offices, as appeareth by letters written with the Kinges owne hande, and which I haue also ioyned to this present

of the vvith
dravving of
the Lorde
Prince into
Germanie.

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sent writing, which doth sufficiently set out, the falshode of their speache. And if any man would knowe, why a yeere afterwarde I withdrew my self into Germanie, my defence published in the yeere sixtie seuen, doth sufficiently declare the causes thereof, to witt, specially because I would not consent, that the Spanilhe Inquisition, should be receaued into my gouernementes. By reason whereof, I resigned them before, into the handes of the saide Dutchesse, with full purpose to liue in peace and quietnes, with my kinsfolkes and friendes, looking when it would please God, either to giue the King better counsell, or, if he did yet waxe worse and worse, when it would please God him selfe to open a gate, to deliuer this poore countrey, which I sawe plunged, into a bottomlesse depth, of mischieues and miseries. For, who can without being wounded with wonderfull grieve, rehearse the banishmentes, the taking awaie of goodes, the imprisonmentes, the tormentes endured, the sundrie sortes of horrible and miserable deaths, wherewith these bloodie people, (surmounting in crueltie, Phalaris, Busyris, Nero, Domitian, and all tyrauntes) haue persecuted the poore subiectes of this countrey? And notwithstanding these thinges, I seeing no meane, to comforte them ouer this miserie, did holde my selfe peceable & quiet. And, because in this Proscription they saie, that I was at the least offered it, whilest that the last treatie helde at Colen lasted: they ought to know, that they should be contented with my voluntarie banishment, and not to pursue me any further, seeing in deede, that I gaue them to vnderstande, by a man of countenaunce and credit, who yet is liuing, that if they attempted, to touche myne honour and my goodes, they would constrain me, to take such order for my affaires as I might. But, as madd people, after that they could not drawe me by their honied and flattering wordes, the Kinge also thinking, to busie me by ouer honest letters, which yet notwithstanding I did plainly perceauie to be full of deceit, they directed themselves, first to my young sonne, a childe and a scholler, and against the priuiledges of the Vniuersitie, they tooke him violently from Louain, yea, after the exhortation and declaration made

The King
of Spaine
inforced
my Lorde
Prince, by
al maner of
iniustice, to
take armes.

The Colitie
of Bueren,
taken in the
scholes, and
caried into
Spaine, as

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made by the Vniuersitie, that barbarous fellowe Vergas, answered barbarouſlie in false latin : *Non curamus vestros priuilegios* : we regarde not your priuiledges . After this, they caried him out of Brabant, against the priuiledges of the Countrey, and against the Kinges othe, and they sent him into Spaine, that so they might remoue him from me, who am his father, and euen vnto this present, they keepe this innocent, in harde and cruell prison, insonmuch as, if they had done me no other iniurie, I should be vnworthie, not only my stock and the name which I carrie, but also of the name of a father, vnlesse I did imploye, all the witt, and all the meanes that God hath giuen me, to assaie to deliuer him out of this miserable bondage, & to recouer if I could, such a wrong. For I am not (my Lords) so vnnaturall, that I feele not the affections of a father, neyther yet so wise, but that oftentimes the grieve, of so long an absence of my Sonne, doeth present and offer it selfe to my vnderstanding. And yet they were not content, but, against all order of iustice, they apprehended my brethren, and pursued me with summoninges, seasmientes of goodes, and thrust me on, euen as it were by force, to attempt sundrie thinges, whereof I my selfe neuer thought : they put the processe of me and my companions (against the articles of the order, and against the othe of the King, who was the chiefe thereof) into the handes of I know not what porters and petiefoggers, who were not meete to be, groomes or pages, to my companions and me : they doo degrade mee : they doo depriue me of my goodes : they do condemne me to death. And is this any other thing, than to free me from myne othes ? and to set me at libertie, to come out, to assaulte myne enemye, by all the meanes that G o d shall giue me ? Beholde then, howe, when I seeke nothing but quietnesse, they stirre vp trouble, I seeke peace, and they prouoke me to warre . And what warre ? A warre attempted to deliuer my childe, to preserue my life, to recouer my goodes, and, whiche is more deare than all, to defende myne Honour . And yet, I doo not here propounde vnto you (my Lords) any thing of that, which concerneth the cōmon cause, and belongeth vnto the generall State.

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some en-
traunce, and
against the
priuiledges
of Brabant.

Nota.

The vniust
proceedings,
against the
honor, the
life, and the
goodes of
the Lord
Prince.

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THE APOLOGIE OF THE

This then (my Lordes) is that, which these men sleightly passe ouer, and vnder silence as it were, and which of set purpose they omit, as in deede not seruing much for their purpose. If then, I not being the Kings naturall subiect (which thing also he him selfe saith) if I being absolued from mine othes, by this vniust proclamation and sentence: If I hauing so iust a groundworke, by force to demandaund my sonne and my goods: If I say, I had driuen him, not onely out of the lowe countrey, but also out of all his landes and Lordshippes, yea and though I did desire to make them mine owne, seeing that against all right and equitie, yea against his own othe, he hath by force constrained me, to attempt so necessarie a warre, euen then, when with all my power I did auoyde it, and hath done me all these outrages, and that at the verie selfe same time, or a little after, when by his owne letters written with his owne hand, he yeelded me so great, and sollemne a testimonie of faithfulness, as no man in the worlde could desire a greater, as appeareth by the copie of the letter hereafter inserted, who is he (the premises being rightly considered) that can accuse me of any other fault, then this, that I framed my selfe to much to the time, before that I would take armes, and that I would not enioye that, whiche the lawe of warre, and of al nations yeelded vnto me, vnto me I say, who am borne a free Lorde, and who haue this Honour, to carie the name and title, of an absolute Prince, albeit that my Principedome, be not of anie great length or largenes?

The iustifying of the taking of armes by my Lorde the Prince.

But, seeing that the speciall foundation, and groundworke is this, that I haue taken and borne armes against my Superior, I am likewise content, to enter into this matter, wher they shal finde themselves to haue as good foundations, as in other places. And in the first place I would faine haue them to tell me, by what title King Philippe, the heire of the bastard Henrie of Castille, possesseth the kingdome of Castille, & of Leon? For it is most manifest, that Henrie his predeceffour was a bastarde, who rebelled against the lawefull heire, who was his owne brother & Lord, whom also he slue with his owne hand. What right then or title had this bastarde being the Kinges great Graundfather? They aunswere, that Don Pedro was a
tyraunt,

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tyraunt, and in deede I cōfesse, that commonly they giue him the name of cruell. But if by this title Philippe holde Castille, why doth not he perceauie, that men may by the same measure, driue him out, that hath chased awaye others? And if there haue neuer bin, any more cruell tyraunt, who hath more prouddie, and with lesse cōsideration violated, the priuiledges of the countrey, then Philipp him selfe, shall not he be much more vnworthie, to beare, & to weare the Crowne of Castille, then Don Pedro? For, at the least Don Pedro was not an incestuous person, nor a slaier of his Sonne, nor a murtherer of his wife. And if some will saye, that this concerneth me no whit at all, I am content to come yet somewhat more nigh, albeit that I haue not purposed, to staie my selfe vpon that, which I shall presently speake vnto you. But suppose, that I did take vp armes against him, and that he were simplie my superiour, and that I were borne his subiect (which yet is not so, euen as he him selfe confesseth it) what should I doo but that, which his predecessor had done, against the Emperour Adolfus of Nassau, his Superior? Euerie one that knoweth neuer so little in the matters and affaires of Germanie, knoweth, how Albert the firste Duke of Austriche, of that name and race (for before he bare the title, of the Countie of Habsbourg) armed him selfe against the saide Lorde Emperour my predecessour. And albeit, it was Gods will, that the saide Emperour should die in the battell, yet I know, what the wisest writers haue iudged thereof, albeit that Gerrard, then Bishop of Maience, the principall authour of that conspiracie, ment to colour & darken the same. And verely, if a man will somewhat more nighly looke into the storie, he shall finde, that this faction was set vp by Pope Boniface (of whom it is saide, he entered into his Popedome as a Foxe, he raigned as a Lyon, & died as a dogge) because the Emperour would not acknowledge him for such a one, as he said he was, and therefore, he stirred vp against him Albert, who was alreadie much displeased against him, because Adolfus was preferred before him, in the election to the Empire, & some Bishoppes also, ouermuch addicted to the Pope, did ioyne them selues vnto him, and ayded him.

Albert Duke
of Austriche
took armes
against A-
dolfus of
Nassau the
Emperour.

Pope Boni-
face the 8.

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But who is he, that would willingly reuerēce so wicked a man, who in his Iubilie, caused to be caried before him, in the manner of a triumphe, two swordes, causing him, that caried one of them, to crie, O Christ beholde thy Vicar on earth, and the other, to say, O Peter, beholde thy successour? And verely, hauing committed so wicked a feate against the Emperor, and hauing Albert at his commaundement, he was purposed, for the like consideration, to do as much to the French King, called Philipp the faire, giuing his kingdome to the faide Albert, and caused him to be named King of the Romaines and of the French men. But he founde the preestes of Fraunce, lesse readie to serue him, and lesse able to helpe him, and the whole kingdome stirred vp, by the learned Orations of Master Peter Coignieres, and a resolute King who caused his foolehood (for so the King called him in his letters) to be taken at Anania, by one of the Lordes, and he the eldest of the noble house of Colannes, and by a gentleman of Languedoc, named Nogaret, who brought him to Rome, where also they put him to death, as he had most iustlie deserued the same. But, as I haue faide, I will not staye my selfe vpon these foundations, but minde to come to the mutuall bondes, which are betweene him and vs. Let vs the put the case, that al this, were neither so nor so. Doth not he verie wel know, that if he be Duke of Brabant, I, by reason of my Baronneis, am one of the principal members of Brabant? Doth he not know wherein he is bound to me, my brethren and companions, and the good townes of the countrey? Hath he forgottē vpon what cōditions he keepeth this estate? Doth he no longer remember his othe? Or if he thincke vpon it, doth he so litle regard that which he hath promised to God and the countrey, and that vpon conditions tied to his Dukes hatt or garland? It is not needfull (my Lordes) that I should here set out vnto you that, which he hath promised vs, before that we tooke any othe vnto him, for fundrie amongst you know the same: But because that others shall see, this my defence, I was very willing, to call to your remembraunce, the summe of his othe. You knowe (my Lordes) wherevnto he is bound, and that it is not in his dispositiō, to do whatsoeuer he liketh

King Philip
the faire, be
ginneeth his
letter vvith
theis words
Sciat fatuis
tas vestra,
that is, let
your follie
or fooler
hood know

The iustify
ing of the
taking of
armes by
the Estates
against Phi
lip Duke of
Brabant, &
Countie of
Flaunders.

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liketh of, as he doth in the Indies, for he cannot here amongst vs, by violence inforce, one of his subiectes onely, to any thing whatsoeuer, vnlesse that the custome, of the benche of the iustices, where they dwell, permit the same. He may not, by anie ordinaunce or decree, alter or chaunge, after anie sorte whatsoeuer, the estate of the countrey. He must content him selfe, with his ordinarie and common reuenues: he may not cause to be leuied, nor yet exact any impositions or taxes, without the good will, and expresse consent of the countrey, and according to the priuiledges thereof: He can not bring souldiers into the Countrey, without the consent thereof: He maie not touche nor deale with the decrying or imbasing of money, without the consent of the Estates of the Countrey: He can not cause anie subiect to be apprehended, without information made, and knowledge first giuen, by the Magistrate of the place: Hauing anie for a prisoner, he cannot send him out of the Countrey. I beseeche you (my Lordes) do you not see, hearing only this sume rehearsed, if the Barons and Nobles of the countrey, who by reason of the preheminences, & the charge of the armies, do not oppose them selues, I say, not only when these articles are violated, but whē they are tyrannously trode vnder foote, & when not one article, but all, & that not once, but a thousand thousand times, are broken & corrupted, not by the Duke onely, but by barbarous and sauage people: Do you not see, I saye, that if the Nobles, according to their othe, and bonde, do not inforce the Duke, to yeelde equitie and iustice to the Countrey, that they them selues should be condemned, of periurie, vnfaithfulnesse, and rebellion against the Estates of the Countrey? And as concerning my selfe, I haue in deede a particular reason, and which toucheth me yet more nighe, that is, that contrarie vnto all the saide priuiledges, I was deprived of all my goodes, without observing any forme or order of iustice therein. But that which fell out in the person of my Sonne, the Countie of Bueren, is so euident a testimony, of the enemies disloyaultie and vnfaithfulnes, & of the transgression or breache of the priuiledges, that no man can, with any good reason doubt, why I haue taken vp armes.

The summe
of the priuileges
of
Brabant.

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The first ar-
gument of the
L. Prince.

And in that, I was not able at the first time, to take fast footing in the countrey, which he vpbraideth me withall, what newe thing hath betithed vnto me, which hath not fallen out vnto the greatest Captaines of the worlde? Yea, euen vnto him him selfe, who hath so oftentimes entered, and that with so great and mightie armies, into Holland and Zeeland, and yet, with a handfull of people, and by the ayde of my Lordes the Estates, of the saide prouinces, he hath bin shamefully driuen out of the saide countrey, and that great Captaine the Duke of Alua and his successours, without hauing at this day, in the said countreis, one foote of lande vnder his disposition, and gouernement, as by your good ayde, I hope that shortly, he shall not haue any in all the rest of the countrey. To be short, by his othe he meaneth, that in the case of gainestanding him, we should be no longer bounde vnto him, neyther yeelde him any seruice or obedience, as appeareth by the last article. If then I be not bounde vnto him: If I owe him not any more seruice or obedience, why is he so rashe, as to saie, that I haue taken vp armes against my Lord? Certainly betweene al Lords and Vassailes, there is a mutuall bonde, and this saying of a certaine Senator to a Consull, shalbe alwayes praysed: If thou doest not account me for a Senator, I wil not account thee for a Consull. But betweene Vassals there is verie great difference, some remayning without comparison in farre greater libertie, than other some, as we are in Brabant, hauing such large priuiledges and rightes, that we may freelie make & giue, graunts in our landes, so that, excepting the homage which we owe, we cannot haue any thing more than we haue. And amongst other rightes and priuiledges we haue this, to stande our Dukes in that steede, that the Ephori at Sparta did their Kinges, that is to saie, to keepe the Kingdome sure, in the power of a good Prince, and to cause him to yeelde equitie, which stood against his othe.

An obie-
ction.

But some will say, that there is a condition annexed, that is, that we shalbe so long freed from our othe, till he haue amended the faulte. But what if he will neuer amende it? If after the Emperour Maximilian, and the Princes of the Empire en-
treat

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treat him, and make intercession for vs, that it would please him to vnburden the countrey: for a full aunswere, some would saie vnto them, that they should meddle with their owne matters, and that the King knoweth wel inough, how to gouerne his subiectes: If, after infinite declarations, by the message of verie noble Lordes of this countrey, we do request him to do vs iustice, he proudly reiect our requestes, and put to death the saide Lordes, and such as he can take, causeth them to passe thorowe the hangmens handes, and pursue the rest, by all vnworthie and cruell meanes: If he bring in vppon vs newe armies, vtterly to destroye vs, shall we tarie alwayes looking for mercie, vntill such time as the Spanishe crueltie, shall haue cut of from vs all hope of respite? But he will nowe amende the fault, and hath sent meanes therefore, by the Lorde of Selles: also he hath disallowed the Duke of Alua. We shall see al these thinges in their order. For the present I am contented to declare, that by good reason I haue take vp armes against him: First, with the Estates of Hollande and Zealande, and afterwarde with you (my Lordes) that he is foresworne against the whole countrey, and in respect of me, against the articles of the poinctes of the order, against the priuiledges of Brabant, in taking away my Sonne, and carying him into Spaine, depriving me of my goodes and dignities, hauing set me sufficiently free from myne othe towards him, and declaring at this present, his verie base heart, and yet notwithstanding tyrannous, publishing this cruell and barbarous Proscription, as the heape of all iniustice and vnworthines.

Nowe (my Lordes) sith it hath pleased him, to stretch out his speache vnto the times which followed, I minde verely to enter thereinto also, and that the more willingly, because that I haue done nothing of that, whereof hereafter he accuseth me: but first, by the aduise and consent, of the Estates of Hollande and Zealande, and afterwarde by your consent in generall, so that if there haue bin anie faulte committed, it ought not to be imputed to me, but rather I should be greatly praised, because I serued you so well & faithfully. I will then come, to the accusacions that remaine, but it shalbe with this condition, (my

Nota.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

on (my Lordes) that I may, as heretofore I haue done, largely rehearse, and plainly set out, that which he maliciouslie omit-
teth, to the ende he might couer his wicked and cruell heart,
and yet neuerthelesse ceaseth not, to cause it to be published,
by certaine small flaunderous libelles.

I haue (my Lordes) obserued, that all this accusation, or ill
speache rather, which followeth afterwarde, is diuided into
two partes: the one touching that, which was ioyned with the
comming of the Duke of Alua, and which followed therevpon,
and specially concerning that, which after my comming into
Hollande and Zeelande, was executed, by my gouernement, &
my Lordes the Estates of the saide Countreis: The other, is
that which hath fallen out, since that God opened your eyes,
by the meane of the pride and outrages of the Spaniards, and
that you published them, and their adherents, for rebelles and
enemies to the countrey, that so you might at the last deliuer
this poore countrey, from this accursed rase. Wherefore I will
followe the selfsame order. And first I render thanks to God,
that euen by the verie silence of myne enemye, you (my Lords)
do knowe, and I hope, that all the worlde shall knowe, that I
was not so much as suspected, to haue applied to mine owne
profit, so much as one onely pennie, of the publick coyne: for
though in other thinges, as you haue alreadie begunne to see,
they haue not stuck at it, to sett out false accusations, and to
charge me, with ouer manifest flaunders: seeing also, that they
do not obiect vnto me, the least suspition of couetousnes, they
do sufficiently thereby declare, not only, howe free I am from
that faulte, but also, albeit they them selues be impudent, and
in very deepe my deadly enemies, yet they durst neuer obiect
against me, this fault wherewith commonly, the Gouernours
of Prouinces, are either wrongfully or rightly charged. But, I
thanke God, I haue long time ago learned, that he which go-
uerneth and commaundeth others, ought aboue all things to
haue cleane handes, and euen voide if it may be of all suspiti-
on, which was the cause, that euen from my youth, I vnburde-
ned my selfe, of the charge of the treasures, which was most
gladlie receiued & accepted of others. And albeit (my Lords)
that it

The Lorde
Prince vvas
not so much
as suspected
by his ene-
mies, to
haue tou-
ched or tas-
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treasure.

PRINCE OF ORANGE.

that it was at no hand needfull, that I should make mention of these thinges, whilest I speake vnto you, who knowe, that I neuer had the handling of one onely pennie of the publike treasure : and as concerning this, that it hath pleased you to appoint me so much, as well in respect of my Estate, as in respect of the extraordinarie charges of the warre, you knowe howe litle I haue receaued thereof : and of the meanes, which yet I haue, howe I haue therewithall mainteyned and vpheld, sundrie great charges, since that I entred into your seruice : which I do notwithstanding not impute, to the want of your good will towards me, but to the cōdition of the time wherein we liue. But sith, that by the secret confession of mine enemye, I may haue such an aduantage, I minde not to passe it ouer vnder silence, to the ende I might cause, certaine small Serpentes that are amongst vs, to vnderstand, that they ought to be ashamed, to haue spread abroad, either against their cōscience, or els thorowe a certaine extreame follie and madnes, that which the verie enemies: who haue conspired against me and the countrey, haue as yet neuer bin so impudent, as to obiect against me : perceauing in deede, that in propounding such a matter, the brightnesse of the trueth, woulde discover the filthinesse of their life.

Seeing then, that they place me in so goodlie a field, as to declare not what I haue done, but what the Estates of Holland and Zealande haue done, by my ayde and seruice, I refuse not, euen before you my Lordes, and before all the men in the worlde, to enter into account with them : but also, sith that you are the chiefeest Iudges, of that whiche is done in this Countrey, it is more than reasonable, that you should regard that, whiche they haue vniustly perfourmed, in all the other Prouinces, whilest that my Lordes the Estates of Holland, Zealande, and I, did stande in steede of staies and hinderaunces, vnto the course of their enterprises and attempes.

First they saye, *That I practised to retorne, into Hollande and Zealande.* Though it were so, what other thinge did I, but that whiche my ductie required? And if I dyd enter vpon
I so good

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

The causes
which mo-
ued the lord
Prince, to
come into
Holland.

so good a foundation, as I haue heretofore laide out, into the Countrey with an armie, why should I haue made anie staye, to enter into that, which was of myne owne gouernement, & whervnto I was more sworne and bounde, and wherein I hold the chiefeft degrees of Honour, amongst the Nobilitie? But so farre of was I, from attempting such matters, that on the other side, I am readie to shewe the letters both of the principall Gouvernours of the townes, and of the principall townes themselves, by the which I was called, for the deliuerance of the countrey, against the tyrannie of the Spaniardes, & namely of the Duke of Alua. And as concerning the promises that I made, at my entraunce thereinto, and namely that they saye, that I promised the saide Estates to mainteine them, if the Duke of Alua would presse them, with the tenth and twentieth pennie, shall neuer be founde true, but this rather, that I came the seconde time, openly and in armes into the countrey, that I might deliuer it, from that tyrannie, whiche then oppressed them, not onely in respect of the tenth pennie, but, for a thousande other sortes of more than barbarous crueltie, and specially, for the great slaughter, that the Duke of Alua the made, of the poore inhabitauntes of the said countreis. And as concerning that, that they saie, that the ecclesiastical Romanistes, were persecuted by me and driuen from their goodes, and another religion brought in, I neede my Lordes for this no other defence, but that which you your selues knowe thereof, to wit, that the whole chaunge, which insued therevpon, was rather a worke of God, then of men. You knowe, howe often I haue bin accused, that I did ouer coldly set my selfe against the aduersaries: that I did suffer them to much: and that I should be the cause of the ruine of the countrey, because I was ouer slowe to chase them away, and to roote them out. And, when the question was, to sende some of them packing, you knowe the duties that I perfourmed, to the ende that euerie one might line in peace, and one of them with an other. But the Estates, which at the first, thought it fit and profitable, for the preservation of the countrey, that both the one and the other religion should be tollerated: learned afterwards, by the

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insolencies, attemptes, and treasons, of the enemies whiche were mingled amongst vs, that their Estate was in daunger, of an vnavoydeable ruine, vnlesse they hindered the exercile of the Romane religion: and they perceaued, that those that made profession thereof, at the least the preestes, had taken an othe to the Pope, (as they do in euery place where they come) which they preferred before the othe, they had made to the countrey: insomuch, that in the assemblie of the Estates at Leyden, as also in the league of the countreys of Holland and Zealande, this article was with one consent agreed vpon, neyther could the enemies be ignoraunt of these thinges, seeing that in the treatie helde at Breda, about the question of religion (the enemies there propounding this, on their owne behalfe, that that chaunge fell out, by the guiding of certaine particular persons) there was shewed vnto them, the consent of all the townes vnder their seuerall seales. And nowe I beseeche you, what bonde coulde there remaine vnto me, seeing that they, vnto whom I had made a promise, did not only discharge me thereof: but they them selues also, did cut it in sunder, breake it, and made it of no force? And notwithstanding, I will leaue it to the iudgement of the wise, whether therein I haue done well or euill. This only I say, that when such things were propounded, I desired them, that they would not proceede so farre, and therefore much more, when they did execute and perfourme the same: whereof not onely my Lordes of Hollande and Zealande, but also, certaine troublesome, & waieward persons, amongst vs (who also haue spread abroad against me in straunge countreis, their wicked speeches) will giue me so good a testimonie, that I hope I shall not neede anie great defence, against such accusations, which being by me denied as false (for so they are in deede) I feare not that they shal be able to yeelde any prooffe thereof: leauing it to you (my Lordes) to iudge, howe foolish such an accusation is, whiche maie be beaten backe, with a simple deniall, and yet notwithstanding the greatest parte of the goodlie colours, wherewith this painter boasteth that he hath set me out, may be quite & cleane defaced, with such a sponge only. If they will alleadge,

The causes
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The esta-
blishmēt of
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ligiō in Hol-
lande and
Zealand, &
vwherefore
it vvas so
done.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

that yet notwithstanding they, that were driuen out, haue iust occasion to complaine, because that promise was not kept with them: I aunswere, that albeit this is not directed against me, yet notwithstanding, for the defence of the Estates of Hollande and Zealande, I will saie this much, that this complaint, should haue but a verie ill foundation, because it is not reasonable, that any such people shoulde enioye a priuiledge, by meanes of which they would deliuer the countrey into the enemies handes. Their purpose was, to betraie the liues, and the goods of the subiectes, and not one or two or three priuiledges onely, but all the fraunchises and liberties, preserued time out of minde, and from age to age, by our predeceffours and auncestours.

They add withall, *That I haue procured libertie of conscience.* If they vnderstande thereby, that I haue made an open way to such impieties, as are commonly committed in the house of the Prince of Parme, where Atheistrie, and other vertues of Rome, are counted but sporte: I aunswere, that it is amongst the heires of the Lord Peter Lewis, where a man must seeke & finde such libertie, or rather vnbridled licence. But I will in deede confesse, that the brightnes of the fiers, wherein they haue tormented so many poore christians, was neuer deliteful or pleasaunt to myne eyes, as it hath reioysed the sight of the Duke of Alua and the Spaniardes: and that I haue alwayes bin of this minde, to wishe and procure what I could, that the persecutions might cease, in the lowe Countreys. I will moreover confesse vnto you, to the ende, that the enemies maye knowe, that they haue to doo with one, that speaketh roundlie & without anie painting, to witte, that the King, when he departed out of Zealande, (whiche was the last place that he left in this Countrey) commaunded me, to put to death, manie godly and vertuous people that were suspected to be of the Religion. Which thing I would not perfourme, but aduertised them them selues thereof, knowing in deede, that I could not doo it with a good and safe conscience, and that I was rather to obeye God, than man. Let the Spaniardes then speake, what they them selues shall thinke good, I knowe

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knowe that fundrie peoples and nations, whiche are much better then they, who also haue learned, that by fire and sworde, men little or nothing preuayle, would prayse mee, and approue my fact.

But seeing that you (my Lordes) together with the generall consent of the people, haue since that tyme approoued it, in condemning the rigour, of the placardes and licences, and in causing those cruell executions to cease, I doo no whit at all regarde that, which the Spaniardes and their adherentes, do murmure and whisper, concerning the same. Neither can I sufficiently wonder at their follie, when they are not ashamed to obiekt vnto me, the murtheringes of the people of their Church, seeing, that not onely they knowe my naturall disposition, to be altogether estraunged from such violences: but also that you and the whole worlde, doo verie well knowe, that by commaundement and appointement, some, in respect of such outrages, as these men would charge me withall, were put to death: and other some, being of great note and noble houses, were arrested, by the principall seruantes of my houlholde, and after that they had bin kept prisoners a long time, they were not deliuered, but in respecte of the house, from whence they had this honour, to proceede and come: the long imprisonment of their persons being appointed vnto them, for the punishment which they had deserued. But that whiche was done by my charge and appointement, is in such sorte knowne to all the worlde, that they are not able, cyther to disguise or darken the same, onely (as they haue verie well learned to speake trueth) that which I haue done veritiously, they saye, that I haue feigned, that the thing did displease me. But who hath tolde them that I feigned? Or who is he that hath reuealed vnto them so much of my secretes? They see that which I haue done, they can not iudge my hearte, neyther is there anie man so malicious, (except it be the forger of this writing, or some Spaniarde) whiche ought not rather to giue iudgement vpon that whiche he seeth, than vpon that, whiche he maliciouslie and wickedlie suspecteth.

They that
ill intreated
the preestes,
were punis-
shed.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

The cast also infinite blames and slaunders, vpon our religion, and they call vs heretiques. But it is such as a long time since, they tooke vpon them to proue it, and yet were neuer able to bring it to purpose or effect. And I saie, that these iniuries (being like vnto the wordes of women, prouoked & chafed with collor) do not deserue any answere, much lesse that beastliness, to saie, that I neuer trusted any eyther Preeft or Friar, vnlesse he were married, and that I inforced them to marie. For, who is it that knoweth not, that without choise or discretion, they cast at my head, euery thing that they finde in the waye, so great is their furie, and their passion so outrageous and vnmearurable? And albeit that these things were true, as in deed they are not, neither yet reasonable (for we learne by our Religion, that mariage ought to be free, and should not be either inforced or forbidden) yet so it is, that this faulte should not be comparable, with that tyrannie ouer cōsciences, which hath forbidden mariage to a great part of Christendome, against which forbidding, not onely the East churches opposed themselves, but also the churches of Germanie and Fraunce.

But that (my Lordes) which is greatly to be esteemed in this Proscription, so true and well grounded, is this, *That the King commaunded not the Duke of Alua, to impose the tenth and twentieth pennie, without the consent of the people.* If the Duke of Alua, in a matter of so great importaunce, and whiche was the cause of the death and destruction, of so many thousandes of men, hath passed his commission, what punishment folowed thereof? The Duke of Alua, for hauing perfourmed to his owne sonne this dutie, to wit, that he might marie his cousin, leauing another, whom vnder the colour of mariage accomplished, he had abused, (euen as Rigomes had before perfourmed for the King, as before hath bin declared) was cast into prison, and put out of fauour, and shoulde not as yet haue bin deliuered, if in all Spaine they had bin able to haue founde a tyraunt, more fitt to exercise tyrannie vpon the poore Portugales then he. He was then chastised for a small faulte, and for such a great one, he was honoured, much made of, and filled with rewardes: And he that would presse the King, with the death

Concerning
the mariage
of Preeftes.

Concerning
the tenth &
twentieth
pennie.

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death of my Lordes of Egmount and of Hornes, he would say as much, and disallowe againe the Duke of Alua for it. Is not this a good meane thinke ye, to discharge him selfe of all faultes? But let them take which parte they will, either the King commaunded it, and then he can not auoyde the name of a tyraunt, or els he commaunded it not, and yet for all that the name of a tyraunt shall remaine vnto him, because he did not chastise and correct him, who of his owne priuate authoritie, had vsurped such a tyrannie, vppon a franck and free people, whereby it appeareth, that he is culpable thereof. And albeit, that I haue alwayes esteemed the Duke of Alua, for the enemye of the Countrey, and as one who hath willingly bathed him selfe in our blood, and in the blood of all Christians, carrying closely a Turkeish heart within him: yet so it is, that I haue knowne him to well, and haue bin to much practised, to beleue this, that he should be so sottish, and so presumptuous, as to dare to attempt, to laye vpon the people an imposition of such consequence, and to pursue it so long time, and that by such extraordinarie, yea & altogether insupportable meanes to the countrey, without good and sufficient commaundement directed vnto him therefore, and that not once only, but sundrie times. I beseeche you (my Lordes) to weye this well, whether he, that in his owne proper and priuate name, durst condemne, or fauoure them that did condemne, the Burgmaster of Amstelredam, in fve and twentie thousande Florins of amercement, because he set him selfe against the tenth pennie, was not well assured, and had not sufficient discharge for the same from his Superior? Neither neede we (my Lordes) any other place then this, whereby to knowe, the fraudes, dissimulations and craftes, wherewith the King, hath so long a time, led and deceaued vs, and yet purposeth still to do, if we suffer him to wound vs, with the prick of his tongue, or to astonishe vs, with the threatnings of his armies. And because, he will haue the bruite thereof, sounded abroad, by reason of the Townes taken, and surprised in Hollande, to witte, within this two, three, or foure yeeres, and that with more force then he hath fought against the Turke withall: I answer

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swere him, that, hauing the aduantages whereof he braggeth, he ought to consider, whether this tende not to his very great shame, that he is altogether driuen out of that Countrey. And it standeth him not in any steede, to alleadge, the mutinie of the Spaniardes. For a Gouvernour, and specially such a one as had such great meanes as hee had, doeth sufficientlie bewraie his insufficiencie & vnworthinesse to commaunde, when he is not able by such meanes, to keepe in obedience his own Souldiers: on the other side, in excusing him selfe so foolishlie, he seeth whether he will or no, that he is inforced to confesse, that I, and my Lordes of Hollande and Zeelande, hauing verie slender meanes, as namely but foure or fve thousand men, haue broken his attemptes, and caused him to consume three score thousande. And whilest (my Lordes) he thus in this countrey lost his time, his men, and his money, he lost likewise within two monethes, the Kingdome of Tunis, and the Goulette, with the greatest shame and confusion, that euer anie mightie Prince did, yea though he were driuen out of his owne lande, albeit some would laie the faulte hereof, vpon the youth of Don Iohn, & vpon the whoredome of the Cardinall. For whilest he did so ill imploye his forces here amongst vs, Sinam Basscha, tooke from him that Kingdome, and that fortresse, which men supposed could neuer haue bin taken: & this he did in the sight of Spaine and of Sicilia, without that euer anie of the Kings side, durst so much as shewe his head, to fight against him, or onely to turne him aside. And yet, if he had no regarde to the good of Christendome (which in deed he neuer had, as witnesseth the painted league that he made, which also cost the Venetians so much) nor respect to his own honour, at the least, the memorie and name of the Emperour his father, (who did little or nothing regarde, all his notable deedes and feates of armes, in respect of that conquest) ought to haue moued and thrust him forward, with a noble and earnest desire, wisely to haue mainteyned that, which the Emperour his father had so valiauntly conquered for him and all Christendome. But the rage and furie to destroye vs, which caried him awaie, tooke both his eyes from him, that he could
not

The shames
ful losses of
the kingdome
of Thunis
& the Gou
lette.

PRINCE OF ORANGE.

not see that euill, and his vnderstanding also that he could not discerne it, he louing ouermuch to make prooffe, rather of his weakenes against his owne proper people, then of his forces, against the common and vniuersall enimie of Christendome.

This (my Lordes) is that which he obiecteth against me, & which also fell out, before our generall coniunction, and ioyning together. Wherevnto (it may be) it was not altogether necessarie to aunswere, sauing that it is requisite, not onely to satisfie you, but also to stoppe their mouthes, and to make all the worlde to vnderstande their impudencies and slaunders. For, if the question were, but of that which cōcerneth your selues, and those whiche heretofore were on our side, who haue notwithstanding, verie euelly and without any cause, withdrawn them selues from vs: you, and those with you, haue heretofore sufficiently declared, that you had a farre better opinion of me. For first, the accorde treated of by you, with me & my Lordes of Hollande and Zealande, at Gaunt, hath sufficientlie iustified me, seeing that if you had supposed me to be such a one, as this infamous Proscription describeth me, you neyther would nor could haue entered into treatie with me: beside, so many honorable embassages, as you since that time haue sent vnto me, to S. Gheertrudenberghe, and euen yet to Antwerp, both to cause me to come into Brabant, and to cause me to come vnto you to Bruxelles, that I might be assistaunt with you in Counsell: and also, that yee did honour me with the title of Lieutenaunt generall: All these things I saye, doo sufficiently declare, what is the opinion and iudgement that yee haue had, of all these false and friuolous accusations, whiche thing alone, I suppose, to be ouer sufficient and strong to confute them.

But let vs now see, howe before that time, they on their behalves gouerned them selues, with what pride, insolencie, and disdaine of our whole nation. I will not repeate, the periuries and deceites of the Dutchesse, nor of the King, in the behalfe of my Lordes the Counties of Egmount and of Horne, nor the baites and allurementes, which they prepared for me, nor yet generally that which fel out before the cōming

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

of the Duke of Alua, but that onely whiche was done afterwards, vntill the time of our generall coniunction and ioyning together, to the ende, that as the remembraunce of the mischiefes and griefes past; shall bring vnto you pleasure and contentement, and the same (as I hope) vnto me, who with some delite haue ayded you therein: so that by the same you will more and more strengthen your selues, in this resolution, which is both holie, and worthie of immortall prayse, & which you also haue taken vpon you, that is, to oppose and set your selues against the Spaniardes and their adherentes. Nowe, as well the saide Duke of Alua, as those that commaunded vnder him and after him, haue sufficiently made vs to vnderstande, what was at all times the counsell of Spaine, to wit, to roote vs out, and to bring vs into bondage. For, as Hanniball, euen when he was but nine yeeres olde did sweare, by the altar of his goddes, that he would be al his life long, an enemye to the Romanes: so was this Duke of Alua, from his childhood nourished, and brought vp, in an vnreconcilable hatred against this countrey, which, by so much blood as he hath spilt, could as yet neuer be satisfied, but so much the more hath he caused it to runne out on euerie side, in all the Townes of this Countrey, yea so farre forth, that he hath caused to be put to death (which thing also he him selfe bragged of) eightene thousand poore innocent men and more, and that by the handes of the hangman or tormentor, and yet for all that, that cruell lust of his, could neuer be satisfied. So that if any would knowe, what are the priue counsells of Spaine: what is the Kings good wil, and howe much he loueth vs, he shall finde it all deciphered & sett out, in the bloodie deedes of the Duke of Alua, as if it were set out before his eyes, and liuely painted in a table of painters worke. For there hath not bin any kinde of dissimulation, treason, and vnfaithfulnes, which he hath not vsed, that hee might bring vnder his subiection and seruice, the principall Lordes of this Countrey, and that by offers, promises, & newe titles of Honour, bestowed vpon them. But, the good & vertuous people, that he could get into his handes, he hath cruelly put to death, without any respect, either to their innocencie,

The insupportable pride of the Duke of Alua, & other officers being Spaniards.

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cie, or to the priuiledges of the countrey, and yet nothing was done, but by the Kings commaundement. He committed the like, against the Citezens and good Marchauntes, so proudly treading vnder feete, our auncient liberties and freedoms, yea euery thing, that was remayning amongst vs of the glorie of our aunceltours, that it seemed that he thought, that you were at no hande worthie to be reckoned, in the number of men.

And where is it, that we can haue a more certaine and playne prooffe, and that so open, that it is (as it were) in the sight and beholding of all Christendome, concerning this matter, and withall, of his vnsupportable contempt and disdain of all these couñtreis, then in that proude, ambitious, profane, heathenish, and withall foolish setting vp of his owne Image, in the midst of the Cittadell at Antwerpe, going impudently vpon the bellies of the Noble men, of the Estates, and of all the people of this countrey? Was not this thinke you, a notable monument of his tyrannie, and a testimonie of his pride? What shall I neede to speake of his seruantes, and of all that vermin that came out of Spaine, who spake of vs, not as it were of Villacos (as they vse to say) or villaines, but euen as it were of brute beastes? You (my Lordes) haue euen as yet your eares, altogether beaten with such matters, and you are able to set out their gestures, their proceedinges, their wordes full of boldnesse, of pride, and of contempt: also their vnsupportable actes, and howe when they were within your townes, with what pride and insolencie they did commaunde you. Wherefore, if that be true which wise men report, that, for the vnderstanding of the naturall disposition of a Lorde or Noble man, men must examine him by his friendes and familiars: and for the knowledge of a maister, men must sift his seruantes: you may (my Lordes) by the vertues of the Duke of Alua, his maisters principall officer, and the executor of all his counsels, easely iudge, what good affection and wil, the King beareth you, who sent him to you, to torment you: and also ye may knowe what yee ought to looke for, vnlesse yee prouide for it in time, (as in deede yee ought) which thing also, all the good people of this lande looke for at your handes.

the profane
and proude
erection, of
the Duke of
Alua his
image, in the
midst of the
late Citadel
at Antwerp

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

The assem-
blie of the
Estates ges-
neral, euer
refused.

The King
taketh a dis-
pensation
from the
Pope, for
his othe
made at his
gladsome
entraunce.

The scholes
of all the
vworld fors-
biddē, saue
that of
Rome only

I will speake nothing, of the rauishings, raunsomes, and ex-
actions committed by the Spaniardes, I wil onely staie my self
vpon the principall point. Yee could neuer yet tell, howe to
obtaine a free assemblie, of the Estates generall, your enemye
verie wel knowing, that, to hinder the calling together & mee-
ting of them, was in deede to cut of by the foote, the tree of
your priuiledges, and vtterly to drie vp the spring of your li-
bertie. For, to what ende serueth it the people, to haue priui-
ledges in faire parchment, kept vp in a cofer, if by the meane
of the Estates, those priuiledges be not maintained, and so men
feele the effectes thereof? And in deede long time before, the
King him selfe had receaued a dispensation from the Pope, for
the othe which he had made vnto you, to keepe your priuiled-
ges. Wherein he did not onely violate and break his faith: but
also did ouer easely, yea verie hurtfully belecue, foolish coun-
sellours, whereby he to to manifestly declared, howe great his
owne wisdom was. For, might he not verie well vnderstand,
that, counting him self free from the othe, which he had made
to you, you also were freed and quitt from your othe towards
him? In so much, that he, minding to be vnburdened of his
othe towards you, you ought not vnto him, any obedience
and subiection. That I may at this time say nothing, but leaue
it vnto others more exercised in such matters than I, to handle
this question, whether the Pope may iustlie vaunt, that he hath
anie such power and authoritie, yea or no: and whether anie
thing in the world, shall remaine certaine and sure, if othes so
solemnely made, may, vnder such a pretext and cloake, be vio-
lated and broken. At the same time, mariages made out of the
countrey, were wholly forbidden, and that whiche was neuer
practised, was prohibited, to wit, that youth might not go out
of the countrey, to studie in any other schoole of the worlde,
but in that at Rome: and condemning by that meanes, all o-
ther schooles (whiche is an ouer great arrogancie) they did
condemne (so vnwarie they were) euen those of the Iesuites,
without thinking anie whit of them: and so (whiche is in
deede the worst) they opened a waye, to verie barbarousnes.
For, as the meetinges together of all maner of learned men,
hath

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hath brought forth vnto vs in this Countrey, sundrie persons well qualified, who haue greatly innobled these Prouinces: so this interdiction and forbidding, could not but in processe of time cause, a more than Turkeish ignorance, that I maye saye nothing of this, that by that meanes, they would make this Countrey subiect, to such cōditions as neuer were heard of. About the same time, the Councell of Trente was published, which Councell hath seemed, euen to the Frenchmen them selues, so vniust, that euen vnto this daye, it could not as yet be published, in the kingdome of Fraunce.

The publishing of the
councell of
Trent.

A little while before this time, there was egerlie pursued, and at the last obteyned, the installing of the newe Bishoppes, whiche had bin so long tyme before debated, by reason of the inconueniences, which all wise people, and louers of the Countrey, and haters of the tourmenting of mens consciences, did foresee, would insue therevppon: which thing also I my selfe, write euen vnto the King: that I maye saye nothing, of the warninges, that I gaue to the Dutchesse, sometime in open counsell, and oftentimes els where: all these their purposes, tending to no other ende, but to set vpp the cruell Inquisition of Spaine, and to establishe the sayde Bishoppes, that they might serue, in steede of Inquisitours, burners of mens bodies, and tyrauntes ouer their consciences.

Bishoppes
newly
made.

It is true, that at this daye they denie, that euer they ment to bring in, this cursed Inquisition, but, if I bring forth vnto them a man worthie of creditt, who was at that tyme a Pensioner of Franck, and who had the racke twise shewed him, to be tormented vppon it, that he might confesse, who they were of the Lordes of the saide Franck, which were purposed to refuse the Inquisition: will they saie that he is a forged witnesse, who yet notwithstanding is such a one, as they are not able to obiekt any thing against him? And beside, if need were, I could finde inough other, plaine, & most manifest proofes. There followed the most rigorous placards & licences, with expresse cōmaundement, to abate nothing of the old rigor: and verily the bul graūted by the Pope, for the erection

Placards &
licences re-
newed.

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of the saide Bishoppes, doeth plainlie carie with it this much; that euery Bishopp, might giue in his owne Cathedral church, two prebends: that euery one of the Canons, should be boūd, to asist him in the matter of the Inquisition: and that particularlie, two amongst them, should actually, and in deede be Inquisitours. And as Princes or tyrauntes, which possesse new Kingdonies or Lordshippes, do laye vppon them a tribute, in signe of their victorie: so the Duke of Alua, in testimonie of his conquest (for this was his common speache, to witte, that these countreis, apperteyned to the King, not in title, or by right or patrimonie, but as being conquered, by armour and weapons) then I saie, to the ende he might make all the world to vnderstande the condition, wherevnto he had made subiect this countrey, he laide vpon the people, by the commaundement of his Maister, the perpetuall payment of the tenth pen-
nie, without the consent of the Estates, without the consent of the Townes & Prouinces, and he resolued with him selfe & his people, to execute the same by force. Insomuch, that whē he vnderstood, that certaine noble & couragious harts, began to be moued, euen at the verie houre (ye see my Lordes, howe great Gods prouidence is) when he receaued newes of the taking of the Briele, he was resolued, to put to death, the same night the principall Burgesses and Citizens of Bruxelles, because, that they set them selues against this impositiō, which was violentlie published against their priuiledges. The Hangman, named Maister Charles, was commaunded to haue in a readines, se-
uenteene halters, and certaine ladders of ten or twelue foote hie: the souldiers were vp in armes: Don Frederico, came into the house, of Viglius the President, to conclude the speache of the cōdemnation, when these happie newes, against the good Burgesses and Citizens of Bruxelles, arriued there. The Lieu-
tenaunt of the Amman, was one of them, that should haue bin put to death, because he refused to execute them, that set them selues against these attemptes, and in deed the Duke of Alua, ment to keepe the promise with them, which but a little while before, he had spoken vnto him, saying: By this * if you will not do it, I will cause you to be hanged. And moreouer, the
Iudges

The imposi-
tion of the
tenth pēnie,
vvithout
the good
vvil, & con-
sent of the
Estates.

* to vvit,
Beard, a
forme of

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Judges are knaues, It is sufficient that whiche I commaunde you. And I confesse, that at the same time, I being againe provoked, as well by sundrie good people, as by myne owne oth, came againe the seconde time with an armie, of whiche expedition I will saie no more at this time, because there is none amongest you, but he knoweth, what then were, and what yet at this present are, the euentes and successes thereof. Nowe then (my Lordes) if it please you on the one side, to consider, that which the Duke of Alua did, before that this warre, was begunne: what iust occasions he gaue me, and the Estates of Hollande and Zealande, to haue our recours to armes: and also that, which he and the great Commandador did, vntill the day of the reuolting and rebellion of the Spaniardes: and on the other side, to waie, howe since that time, I haue guided & gouerned my selfe, I refuse not to make ye Iudges thereof, and to giue yee leaue to determine thereof, as yee your selues shall thinke, conuenient and meete. But yee haue already sufficiently declared, what yee thinke thereof, by the pacification of Gaunt, by the expulsion of Don Iohn, and by so many actes and testimonies, that I neede not to haue any more, yea euen by this, that yee would not discharge me, of my offices and charges, although that verie oftentimes I requested the same of you.

swearing,
vsed amongst
the Spanis
ardes.

The second
coming of
the L. prince
vvith an ar
mie.

Nowe I will come to that, whiche in the seconde place they touche, in their cruell Proscription, to wit, that, which followed the time, wherein the Spaniardes were declared rebels, and enemies to the countrey.

About that time (my Lordes) there was treated and concluded the Pacification of Gaunt, and that with so great ioye and contentement of the people, yea and of all the Prouinces, both generally and particularly, that no man aliue, is able to remember the like.

The pacifi
cation of
Gaunt: and
that the ene
mies, both
Spaniardes
and their ad
herers haue
broken the
same against
their othe

Euerie one may remember, the mutuall promises of friendshippe, of intelligences, partaking of counsell, and such like comprehended therein. But what? They them selues, who afterwards did make manifest, the great and inueterate hatred of their heart, and were notwithstanding of the number of those,

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

The Lorde
of Hauſſi,
ſent into
Zealand to
demaund ſuc-
cour of the
L. Prince,
for the ſiege
of the caſtle
of Gaunt.

those, which treated of the same matter with my Deputies, & with them of Hollande and Zealande: they I say, intreating thereof, did ouerthwartly cast against it, all the hinderances that possiblie they could, to cause it to die, before it came to ripenes: which thing, without controuersie, they had obteyned, if they had not feared to fall into daunger, & if the people, and all the Prouinces (who perceaued, and sawe before hande a farre of, that this pacification, should be the groundworke of their libertie, and the restitution of their auncient priuiledges) had not, as it were with one voice, inforced them to conclude the same. And, because (my Lordes) often times in this execrable Proscription, and in their little, foolish, dif- famatorie libelles, and secret letters, they obiekt vnto me, that I haue violated and broken the same: Let vs see, howe they on their behalfe, haue mainteyned and kept it. It was no sooner confirmed by othe, but that the Lorde of Hauſſi, according to your commaundement, made fundrie voyages into Zealande to me, that he might obteine succour of men, and munitions of warre, for the siede of the Castle of Gaunt, one of the nestes, of the Spanishe crueltie, which thing he also obteyned. But, a certaine man, vnworthie of his stock, and of his Coun- trey, could not conteine him selfe, but at the same time began to vomite his venim, charging with a faulte the saide Lord, in recopence of so good a seruice, & which was in deede the very gate, to the libertie of the Countrie and Countie of Flaunders, and namely of the towne of Gaunt, whiche had bin so long time before, kept vnder by tyrannie: and it was a matter of no great account, to the saide Sweueghen, to the Countie of Reus, Mouqueron, and others, that the Spaniardes, yet all bloodie with the murther of Antwerp, & laden with the spoy- les, of good Burgeses and Citezens, should perfourme a like execution in the Towne of Gaunt, as they had committed in the most renounned town of Antwerp: which thing also they had executed and performed, (as the letters of Rhoda and o- thers, do sufficiently proue) had not the saide succour hinde- red them. Marke I pray you, howe that euen then when the Trumpet sounded, for to publishe the Pacification of Gaunt, these

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these honest people began to breake the same. Herevpon Don Iohn arriued in these Countreys, and albeit that mine enemy would here playe the falsifier, and alter the matter: haue not I yet the letter signed with the Kings owne hande, and with the hande of one of the Secretaries of his estate, & sealed with the seale of his armes, whiche yeelde testimony concerning the charge and commission giuen to Don Iohn? Haue not they bin published to all the world? Was there yet euer any Spaniarde founde, that durst contend against him? By those letters we haue knowne, that all the difference, betweene Don Iohn, the Duke of Alua, and Lewis of Requesens was this, that he was more young, and more foolish, than the others, and that he could not so long time hide his venime, dissemble his attempts, & withhold his greedie handes, from the desire that he had, to wett and washe them in our blood. I will not (my Lordes) make in this place any recitall of these matters vnto you, for they are knowne vnto litle children, and all the land, is as it were, watered therewith. Albeit then that these things were set out before the whole worlde: and albeit that the pacifiers knewe and vnderstood the same: Notwithstanding the inueterate hatred towards this poore people was so great (so much were they accustomed, to aide them that oppressed your priuiledges, and to subiect them selues to tyrannie, was euen become altogether naturall vnto them) that euen like horse-leaches, foming with rage, they themselues came to launce the selues, vpon the thorne of the bloodie hart of Don Iohn, and agreed with him, against mine aduise, and the aduise of them of Hollande and Zeeland, and against their owne othe taken, against the pacification of Gaunt, and yet these men dare obiect vnto me the pacification and mine othe, as though those bandes had bin prepared, onely to shakel me, and my Lordes of Hollande and Zeelande, whilest that those good and loyall peacemakers, hauing broken all bond of lawes, of loyaultie, and of fidelitie, might haue libertie to perpetrate, commit, and doo, whatsoever their disloyall harte, shoulde put them in minde of. They will saye, that they caused Don Iohn to promise, that the Spaniardes should departe: as though

the coming
of Dō Iohn

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that all our agreement and league, consisted in that onely point. But before they had cōcluded with Don Iohn, should not they haue placed me, in my gouernementes, and put me in possession of my goodes, and restored me my Sonne, who was one of the number of the prisoners? Haue they so much as onely thought vpon it, though that sundrie amongst them were kinne vnto him? No whitt at all in deede. For they had a farre other marke, which thing they them selues did sufficiently declare, by so many consultations as they made, that they might at the length finde out a way to oppresse me, and to bring Hollande and Zealande vnder subiection, knowing, that at the same time, I yet onely, and the Estates of the saide Countreis, were they which did openly hinder their pernicious purposes, which was, to enter in the place of the Spaniardes, to exercise the like tyrannie that the Spaniards had done, but yet as they thought, with more power and authoritie, and also, that they might remaine in their own Coūtreyes with greater impunitie. Concerning this matter, I referre my selfe to the instructions, giuen to those which came to treat with me, at Saint Geertrudenberghe, whiche I will bring to light, if need be thereof.

At the same time, they sent to the Queene of Englande, that they might fill hir with al false matters against me, and also moue hir to arme hir selfe against me and my Lordes, the Estates of Hollande and Zealande: But the knowledge that she had of the trueth, and the singular wisdom, wherewith she is indued, made hir to take a cleane contrarie resolution, then that which they hoped of. To be short, they deuised as much as they could, to execute and perfourme against vs, the same practises that the Spaniardes had done, and this (my Lordes) was the obseruation of the Pacification of Gaunt, that these men vsed euen from the beginning. And as concerning the Spaniardes, which Don Iohn told them he had sent away, they sawe (at the least if they had anie vnderstanding, though neuer so little, for they wanted not aduertisement and intelligence) that some stayed in Luxembourgh, other some in Burgundie, and other some in Fraunce, vnder the shadowe of the
ciuile

The Spaniards licensed by Don Iohn to returne.

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ciuile warre, which was at that time raised vp in Fraunce, looking onely for their watchwoorde, that they might returne againe in an instant, whiche thing also they did . Beside this, they knew, that Don Iohn reteined with him foureteene thousande Germanes, of the old souldiours, which he kept in garrison, in the principall Townes of the Countrey : that at Malines, he treated with the saide Germanes : that he spake one thing to them, and another thing to you my Lordes : and did in the meane while, take the Castle of Antwerp, from the power of the Duke of Aerschot, and of the Prince of Chimai his sonne, and left it in the handes of Tresslon . They sawe I saye, these thinges, and did notwithstanding ayde and fauour him therein, and yet they will say that they kept the Pacification of Gaunt. For, as concerning that whiche mine enemies saye, that Don Iohn sware vnto it, I confesse further, that the King him selfe promised, it should be obserued, which maketh him so much the more vanquished, for euen at the same time, he commaunded Don Iohn to breake it, as appeareth by his own letters.

Foureteene
thousande
Laceknights
left by
Don Iohn
in garrison,
in the prin-
cipal towns

And as concerning Don Iohn, true it is, that he promised and sware , to see the same perfourmed , but that was with a condition, which he spake of before hande, in the presence euen of some of your Deputies, whiche should be added, to witt, that it should be kept vntill such time, as he repented him thereof, which condition fell out verie quicklie afterwarde.

Don Iohn
sware to
the pacifica-
tiō of Gaūt.

For, this young man, supposing that he was at the topp of his businesse, and that he had in his handes (by reason of the garrisons of Germans, and fundrie traytours taking parte with them) the best Townes, tooke (but yet not without doing, an vworthie iniurie to the Queene of Nauarre) the Castle of Namure, a place which he thought was verie fitt and necessarie, for the Spaniardes to go and come. But so soone, as the Castle of Antwerpe, was by cōposition yeelded vp vnto you, he founde him selfe farre from his reckoning , which caused him at one time to lose, manie friendes, who began euen than to chaunge their copie and countenance : and Don Iohn was thereby made, so perplex and doubtfull, that he had no other

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succour, but this, that, hauing corrupted some of your owne
 Deputies, he might protract the time, and busie you, with a
 painted hope of peace. And I would to God, that at that time,
 yee (my Lordes) had not bin hindered, by these good obser-
 uers of the Pacification of Gaunt, from beleeuing my counsel,
 for then, by a verie small armie, we might haue bin quitt and
 ridde of Don Iohn, of his Spaniardes and adherentes, and of
 so many miseries, as since haue insued. I would then yet fur-
 ther knowe, in this place (my Lordes) whether Don Iohn did
 then keepe this Pacification, & his Vnion so solemnely sworne
 (as they saie) which he had made, with these fauourers of the
 Spaniardes. And why shall he come to vpbraide me with the
 Pacification of Gaunt, which yet hath caused this to be decla-
 red vnto vs, by the Lorde of Selles, that he would not keepe
 it? Shall he to my hurt, enioye a priuiledge, which he him self
 renounceth and forsaketh? And when we haue saide all, it is
 not with him, that I, and the Estates of Hollande and Zea-
 lande, haue contracted and accorded, but it is with you (my
 Lordes.) Now, if after so many breaches of the Pacification,
 and that in such sundrie sortes: if after that contrarie to the
 saide Pacificatiō, they haue destroyed the Townes, where they
 could exercise their tyrānous gouernement, and the best Bur-
 gesses and Citezens therein, alleadging against them false and
 wicked thinges: If then I saye, after these thinges, you (my
 Lordes) haue iudged, that for your owne suretie, you ought
 to inlarge some of the articles, yea and if neede were, that you
 were minded, altogether to breake, cut in sunder, and reuoke
 them: who is he that could accuse you therefore, If yee haue
 vsed that which was your owne, as you your selues thought it
 conuenient for your owne profit, vnlesse it be he, which would
 vse his owne othe, as a nett and snare to catche you in?
 For as concerning that whiche they say, that the chaunge hath
 bin on my behalfe: though that were true, yet so it is, that I am
 no more bounde, in respect of the contractours with me, see-
 ing that they haue so manie wayes, violated and broken the
 contracte it selfe: and seeing that on your part, it was thought
 conuenient, that the chaunge should be made, you haue as
 much

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much authoritie and power to dispose thereof, as a Lord hath right in his own inheritaunce : for the Pacification was yours, which also you might vse, at your own pleasure and discretion.

But I haue so often times, both by worde and writing declared, nothing to be broken on our partes, that I shall not neede to bestowe anie more time, to sett out the same vnto you: Onely I will confesse this, that they of Hollande and Zeelande were in deede forbidden, to innouate or chaunge anie thing in that countrey : but that the other Estates, might not in their Prouinces, by some lawfull condition, prouide for their safetie, it will neuer be founde that there was as yet anie such obligation or bonde : whiche thing may be manifestlie seene and knowne, by the reading of the eleuenth and the twelue Article. And in deede, vpon the making of the saide Pacification, as one of those which were Deputies on our side, did declare vnto some one of the principall persons of the other side, that some such matter might fall out, and that therefore it was better, to accomde some libertie, for the poore subiectes of the Prouinces, whose causes they handeled, and for whom they were to make agreement : so some other aunswere him againe, that he needed not take care for such matters, and that those of Brabant, Flaunders, and the other Countreis, would not at any time demaunde a chaunge in the matter of Religion. Nowe, if they haue bin deceaued, what cause is there for them so furiously, to direct the selues against me? I giue them also the same aunswere, in respecte of the chaunge which fell out, in certaine Townes of my gouernemēt, for I can in deed assure me before God, that I haue not giuen any aduise or consent thereto: and that many things fel out ther, as also in Flaunders, which pleased me no whit at all : and I do defende it against the, that if there haue bin, some souldiarlike insolencie & violence, that that was nothing, but sweete smelling roses, in respect of the intollerable excesses, which thei haue comitted: and also at the least, that we haue not had on our parte, any infidelitie or treason, or intelligence with the Spaniardes, as our enemies on their parte haue had. For haue not they, against their faith & promise, with an armed power begunne a warre,

Nothing
was attempted, by the
L. Prince,
the Estates
general, and
those of the
Religion, against the
pacification
of Gaunt.

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The begin-
ning of the
warre of the
Malcōtents
euen then,
vwhen they
were readie
vwithin 2.
dayes, to
driue avay
Don Iohn.

The contin-
uance, dur-
ing the
siedge of
Maeſtricht.

and assaulted their confederates, when we were, within twoo dayes readie to giue battaile to our enemies ? Haue not they pursued the execution of their cōplott and conspiracie against their confederates, and declared their defection and falling away, at that time, when the good towne of Maeſtricht was besieged ? Was there euer anie detestable and vile act in the worlde, and is it not this ? Euen then, when you your selues looked for the forces and powers of your confederates, to succour a good Towne besieged, with which they were entred into a sworne league : and of which, they could not in any sorte, cyther wrongfully or rightly complaine : Euen then I say, they did not onely destitute and forsake you, but also made warre vpon you, and that as whotly and as fiercely as they coulede.

The stories report, that Suffetius was drawn in peeces with foure horses, because he stirred not, but only looked on, when Tullus Hostilius his confederate, fought the fiede : then what Gibbettes, and what punishmentes can a man deuise, whiche might be sufficient to correct, this vnfaithfulnesse and treason ? And whose treason ? Those (my Lordes) who before had laide their handes, vpon the Countie of Mansfelt, Viglius, Fonc. Afsonuille, Berti, and others of the Councell of Estate, then whē I was not so straitely bounde vnto them, as since I haue bin, & was not yet come into Brabant : Those I say, that by such laying handes vpon them, had giuen all the world to vnderstand, what iudgementes they had concerning the King & his counsaile : Leauing it to you (my Lordes) to iudge, what great consideration, there is in such people, that whilest we make warre, they can not foresee, that they sharpen the swordes of those, whom they had takē prisoners, to take away their own heads. They will say, that I haue not shewed my selfe to be an enemye against them of our side, who haue passed the boundes set thē. Verely I haue not approued the excesse of any, but doo they thinke that I am so vnwarie, as that for to shewe them a pleasure, I will open a gapp to the destruction of the Countrey, and so make Escouedo a prophet ? Haue they euer heard that a wise father, for the contentement of his enemye, would seeke the ruyne of his children ? Nay rather this is his dutie, to correct the

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rect the faultes, and in amending of them, to labor the preservation of his familie and houlholde.

But Bours, Montigni, and others, doo not they knowe the duties that I haue performed, to establishe euery thing in good order? Haue they forgotten the Articles, agreed vppon, euen such as they them selues demaunded, & which since that time, they haue broke against their othe? It is then rage, follie, ambition, hatred against the religion, & desire to gouerne, which hath caried away their heartes, and tossed them as it were with madnes: and which hath first moued them: and which since that time they haue couered, with the cloake of the Pacification of Gaunt. For I knowe (my Lordes) howe hardly they were distressed, and what labor they tooke, to cloake and colour their enterprise, and that a simple Captaine, did in this counsaile open a gappe vnto them, who was immediatelie followed.

I knowe, that sundrie wil thinke it a newe & straunge thing, that children of so good a house, issuing from such fathers, should so farre forgett them selues, as to heape vp such reproches vpon their owne stock: yea some I thincke will thincke it vnbeleeuable, that euer there coulde be founde, such great inconstancie in them: and for myne owne part, I can not chuse, but be greatly sorie for it, by reason of the good will anst reuerence, which I haue borne to their fathers: and the desire which I haue had to see them aduaunced, in al vertue, honour and reputation (which thing they might haue atteyned, if they had onely learned to forbear but a little while, and to beare some part of the miserie of their countrey) and I would yet in deede desire, that they might become so wise, that by a good repentance, they might amende the faultes past. But to the ende, that I may not speake, of sundrie their particular actions, whiche are not come to the sight of al the world, and are notwithstanding full of inconstancie and lightnes: if we come to consider that which euery one knoweth, and is laide out before the eyes of all the world, who is he that can sufficiently inough marueile, at the inconstancie and vanitie of their resolutions? They serued the Duke of Alua, and the great Commandador,
as ser-

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as seruantes or pages, and they made warre against me, with all extremitie : a little while afterwards, they treated with me, and reconciled them selues, and then (lo) they were the Spaniards enemies . Don Iohn came, they followe him, they serue him, and they indeuour and practise my destruction. Don Iohn failed in his enterprises, concerning the Castle of Antwerpe, incōtinently they forsake him & call me : I was no sooner come, but contrarie to their othe, without communicating anie thing thereof, either to you (my Lordes) or to me, they call my Lorde Matthias the Archduke : He being come, they sawe that they could not come to their marke, therefore they left him, and without aduertising him any thing at all thereof, they go to seeke my Lorde the Duke of Aniou : they bring him in, and they promise him wonderfull things . They sawe, that they could not bring him to this point, to make him a Captaine against you (my Lords) and them of the Religion, then they left him, and ioyned them selues to the Prince of Parma. Are there any waues of the Sea more inconstant ? Is there any * Euripus more vncertaine, than the counsels of such people, who thincke that they are so highly sett : so much lifted vp : and so strengthened, that it should be lawfull for the, to playe and dallie, in such sorte with Princes, of such qualitie and calling ? If then they haue done such thinges (as all the worlde knoweth they haue) assure your selues, that there is nothing so light and vaine, but they will enterprise & attempt it. And what could they haue committed more greeuous, then to haue consented to this wicked Proscription, which was framed against his head and life, who had helped and healed theirs, and caused their possessions and goodes, to be restored to the principall amongst them ? And beleue (my Lordes) that this is not the last pranck they wil plaie. For, though they should very quickly confesse it, (which thing I also desire) yet shall you finde them more then tenne times, chaunge their horse and their saddle, before that this businesse be ridd and ended.

As concerning that, which they obiect against me, *That I caused my self by force and tumult to be chosen Gouvernor of Brabant.*

You

* It is a part of the Sea, which floweth seuen times a daie vvith such great force, that it carrieth shippes vvith full saile against the vvinde.

P R I N C E O F O R A N G E .

You (my Lordes) do remēber, that I neuer spake to you thereof: and that I haue not any maner of way, prouoked you thereto: and on the contrarie side, you remēber (I hope) the great withstanding that I vsed, & my plaine declarations & speeches made to the contrarie: and also as concerning the estate of Lieutenaunt generall, that I ment to haue had the aduise and consent, of the gouernours which were in the army, and which being verie shortly after tumultuouſlie and disorderly handled (I minde not now to tell by whose faulte) was sent me, euen as I yet haue it, signed with their owne handes. Nowe, if some of the people, preferred and promoted this choise, & yet I neither intreating nor prouoking them thereto, shall I mislike the therefore? Nay rather, I am inforced to cōfesse, that they were more wise, and better foreseeing to the affaires of this Countrey, then I was at that time. For they well vnderstoode, that if they should leaue the handling of the matters, and the administration of the publike cause, in the handes of these men, that were become Spaniardes as it were, and so greatly affected towards them: it should be nothing else, but to build vpon the quick sande, a ground worke not strong inough, to set such a frame and building vpon. And it is as true that they say, that by the tumultes of Gaunt, I was chosen Gouernour of Flaunders, for it bewrayeth a verie ignoraunce of our affaires: because that the foure members or partes of that Prouince, did chuse me, not once, but sundrie times, and that not while the tumultes lasted, but since that the matters were well quieted: yea and they them selues, haue oftentimes sued for it, both to me and to you, and yet to this present I haue not nunded to accept it.

The estate
of Gouernour
of Brabant
and
lieutenant
generall.

Also, I do not (my Lordes) thincke it raisonable, to answere concerning the meanes and money leuied by you, and which, according to your aduise, were gouerned vnder your authoritie, by your treasurers, commissioners, and receauers, without that I, or any of mine, did euer see pennie thereof. But if anie must be blamed for it, it is the enemy him selfe, who hath inforced you to vse, and seeke meanes for your owne defence.

The gouernment
of
Flaunders
offered to
the Lord
Prince, and
yet not accepted.

Of the monyes
leuied
by my lords
the estates,
and how
they were
distributed.

And if he, to the ende he may execute mischief, exercise tyran

M

nie,

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

nie, and oppresse your libertie, doe bestow so great and excessive charge and expenses : why should not you bestowe some cost, to doe good things, to repress the Tyrant, and to preserve your Priviledges and your libertie, which cannot be valued ? And if the matter be, to giue vp all that we haue, euen to the vttermost farthing, and to the last droppe of our blood : what should we doe, but that, wherevnto we are holden and bound ? and whereof we haue in auncient Histories, so many goodly examples, as well of straungers, as of our braue and valiaunt Predecessors and Auncestors ? But so farre off is it, that we should leaue off, that on the other side, seeing we see that which pricketh and prouoketh the, that that is it, which we should take vnto our selues, thereby to endeauour and to encourage our selues to go forward. For to aunswere that which he saith, that I haue committed to prison, and caused to be slaine, some of them that gainsayed these contributions, I suppose it is not needefull to aunswere them to this, before you (my Lordes) who know, that these are manifest slaunders : and who knowe also, that I haue bin more blamed, for my ouer great gentlenesse and patience, in tollerating fundrie wicked persons, who by their subtelties and secrete practises, hinder our affaires, then I haue bin accused of mine enemy, for my rigor and hardnesse. But if that which they obiekt against me were true, there are fundrie, which speake at this day very hie, and for whose sake the threedes and snares haue bin cut : and I doe notwithstanding as yet not repent me, that I haue so vsed them, but will alwayes reioyce, that I haue had a mind ready rather to receaue iniurie, then to doe it, not doubting but that God, who is a iust Iudge, will bring vpon the heades of these traitorous and disloyall people (who did eate bread with vs, and were partakers of our Counsels, and notwithstanding at this present, are in their counsell against vs) the reward and recompence of their wickednesse, as already vengeance pursueth them, with a perpetuall disquietnesse, vexation, and tossing of spirite.

As concerning the businesse or matter, which the Lorde of
Seelles

P R I N C E O F O R A N G E .

Seeles tooke vppon him to deale for, and which also was knowne, to be full of dissimulations and deceites : to answere this, it appertaineth to you (my Lordes) who haue so wiselye discovered his fraudes : and who haue caused him to vnderstande, that those that haue not seene Spaine, are not for all that beastes, as he and such as he are, doe suppose : to you I say it belongeth to aunswere this, because that this accusation is directed against you. I confesse, that I was of the same mind that you are, that he was no more to be trusted, than a beguiler and a deceiuer : and that he was to be taken, as an instrument chosen to bring all to diuision and disorder: vpon which point to resolue my self, no man holpe me, so much as he himselfe. For, in that that he tolde me, that I was so muche in the Kinges fauour, as that there was no Lorde in these quarters, of whome he had better opinion than of me, and whome hee would imploy so much as me : this made me more and more to thinke, that they would gladly haue taken away my heade and life, if I would haue let it gone so good cheape, as this fellow so greatly affected to the Spaniardes, would haue perswaded me.

The negoti-
ation of
the Lord of
Seeles.

I confesse, I say, that I was of the selfe same opinion that you were : and that you haue most wiselye resolved vpon this point, to wit, that, according to the example of that wise Capitaine, you haue stopped your eares, against the Sirenes or Myrmaides of Spaine . But what say I, that I haue bin of this aduise? Those miserable men, that haue consented to this cursed proscription, haue not they also resisted his attemptes as well as I? The very selfe same Magistrates, which haue caused this Proscription to be published, haue not they also reiected the Lord of Seeles, and all his trifling tales? which is sufficient ynough to aunswere that, which they say, concerning *the changing of the Catholique Officers.*

The chan-
ging of the
Officers.

And would to G O D, that I had had power, or that by the headlongnesse or hastinesse of some, I had not bin lette and hindered, from procuring and perfourming such a chaunge in euery place : for then there had not followed, so great a floude of euils, as since wee haue seene, by

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

reason of the disjunction and discord of the Prouinces, which, it is to be feared, least it will dayly more and more growe, to the generall destruction of the Countrey : at the least I hope, that if the Prouinces, who haue so wickedly forsaken vs, do not repent them of so great a fault, they shall perceaue, that there was neuer any man better corrected for wicked counsell, then they that haue first giuen the same. And cōcerning this point, I will not sticke at it, to aunswere this slander, that I haue, and that by myne owne priuate authoritie, put into charge and office the saide officers, seeing that in euery place, where I haue bin assistaunt in the chaunging of the lawe, I haue therein executed onely that charge and office, whiche it hath pleased you to giue me, and that as your Commissioner and Deputie, doing nothing therein against the lawes and priuiledges. In deed I will confesse, that I sought as much as possiblie I could, to bring in and to place in these offices, vertuous people, honourable personages, men of good conscience, and aboue all louers of the countrey. But I knowe what wringeth and pricketh them, that is, that I did not willingly fauour those, which they had in their owne corde, people without faith, without godlines and honestie towards their Countrey, yea bloodie people, and slaues to execute their tyrannie. And this is that (my Lordes) which these men call confusion, to wit the good rule and gouernement of our common wealth, according to our lawes, which also are as contrary to their barbarous intentes and purposes, as the day is to the night. And in deede (my Lordes) there is no great neede, to aunswere such obiections, seeing that our owne enemy doth sufficiently aunswere them for vs. For, who were these officers, of whom they saye, we haue discharged and vnburdened our selues ? *They were* (say they) *well affected to the King*. Which is as much as if they should saie, they were good enemies to the Countrey: and by this (my Lordes) you vnderstand, that it was verie well done to chaunge them, in sundrie places and quarters.

They vpbraide me, *with the great credit that I haue amongst the people*. So farre of is it, that I am ashamed of this, that I am verie sorie that I haue not as yet attained more, that is to saye, that

P R I N C E O F O R A N G E.

that I haue not well knowne, howe to perswade them to doo that, which I haue so oftentimes set before them, both by worde and writing. For, it is long time since, that I would (thorowe the aide of God) haue clenfed the countrey, from these filthes of Spaine. But if they be such as they saye they are, and that I am such a one as they describe me to be (for to shewe them some pleasure, I will easely graunt them this point) they must of necessitie confesse, that their tyrannies and cruelties, haue bin wonderfully excessiue and outrageous in all sortes, in that they haue incurred, such a generall hatred of all that people, who before were so well affected, and hath bin so loyall and faithful to their predecessors, and euen vnto them themselues, before such excesses were committed: and on the other side, that if the people haue willingly chosen me, to be the claimer and challenger of their libertie, what other thing can men say: what shall the straunge nation speake: and what shal posteritie report but this, that there was in me something, worthie of fauour and freendship, and in them somewhat worthie of extreeme hatred? I confesse then, that I am, and that I wil al my life long be popular, that is to saie, that I will pursue, mainteine and defende, your libertie and your priuiledges. Thus you see, howe these wise braines, are vtterly voide of common wit and vnderstanding, and howe that euen then when they blame me they praise me. True it is, that fife or six ill aduised persons gathered together, being the enimies of your libertie, whose counselles, imaginations, and secret thoughtes, tende altogether to this, to seeke out the wayes, to make you subiect to their tyrannie, which should be more cruell, or at the least more vnworthie and more flauishe, then that of the Spaniardes hath bin: that these men I saie, measure the braine of all the worlde, by the cle of their owne vnderstanding, and thincke that euerie one, will condemne that as euill, which they iudge to be so. But when the whole matter shalbe weighed at the common beame and balaunce, the they shall finde that they haue greatly misrekoned them selues. For he, whom they iudge vnworthie to liue, that he might profit the commo wealth (for what other thing is the common wealth, then the good of all the

Touching
the auctoris
ty of the L.
Prince amōs
gest the peo
ple.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

people) they will make him thorow their owne follie, so much the more honoured, as the people it selfe will more esteeme of him that maintayneth them, than he that would oppresse them.

The regard
that the L.
Prince hath
alvvays had
of nobility.

I cannot also sufficiently wonder at that, which they themselves haue here forgotten: yet sundrie base but wicked writers, haue lyingly put downe, in their fonde Libels of diffamation against me, to wit, *that I hate Nobilitie*. For, shall I beginne this hatred at my selfe, my kinsfolkes, and friendes, who are (thanks be to God for it) all descended of a noble and famous race, and that so auncient, and of such great riches and dignities, that I am not afraide to affirme, that sundrie of myne enemies, cannot with any good right preferre themselves before vs, and few amongst them, shall be found, that may be made equall with vs? But experience hath declared, whether I doe not that which is in my power for the aduancement of Noble men. Now, if I haue long time ago foreseene, that certaine ambitious heads (who since that time haue forsaken vs) would go about to take possession, of certain gouernments and charges, that so they might afterward abandon the countrey, and falsifie their othe: if I say I haue knowne their lightnesse, vanitie and inconstancie, and their affection also, tending to tyrannie, and therefore ment not to fauour them, and so by that meanes I haue holpen to preserue, the better and the greater, and the more sound part of our estate: I haue not for all that hated or despised Nobilitie, but ment by good counsell, to preuent the destruction of the Countrey, which might haue followed. If their Fathers, who were more wise, more valiaunt, and more vertuous than they, and with whome I haue liued in such good friendship: if, I say, they were now alive, they would die with greefe, seeing their stocke so much degenerating, from the constancie and vertue of their auncestors, who liued so honourably and without reproche: If they saw I say, that there is at this day no Countrey, wherein they are not counted, for inconstant people, and great coopes men: If they saw, even the Spaniardes whome they serue, and the Cardinall (who is the hindege, yea the Spindell wherevpon the Mill turneth)

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turneth) to play with them, as it were with a ball: to make them as it were little children: to lead them by the nose like beastes: and to vpholde them, till it be time to demaunde againe their pictures, instrumentes, tapestrie, and other mouebles, which they haue taken away, and euen so farre till they come to the point to be lead to the slaughter, euen as it appeareth by his owne Letters written with his own hande, which you (my Lordes) haue seene and doe know: If they saw these thinges I say, what would they then do?

And because that mine enemy (as though he did distrust his owne authoritie, and that he doubted whether the waight of his owne titles would be sufficient, to intrappe me) proceedeth yet further, and ioyneth the Emperours authoritie to them, and the credit also, of certaine of my Lordes, the ecclesiasticall Electors, saying, *that they had propounded such reasonable articles, as every man of good iudgement would deeme them to be such*: he knew not (in a word my Lordes) to speake more than you. What say I you? Nay then all the inhabitantes of these Countreys, who did with one voice refuse the sayde Articles, as impertinent, captious, and vnreasonable, being without iudgement and voide of reason. But whome shall they be able to perswade, that a people beaten with such long warre (which cannot be without a million of inconueniences) would refuse a peace, if it were reasonable? Or that good, yea very good subiectes, and suffering very much, would refuse to agree, with their superior, except it be, when they see that such agree-mentes, are baites to catche them? such a peace is worse then warre: and such sweete hony of the tongue, is more to be doubted, then the steellie edge of swordes. It may be, that the Emperor, who thinketh such a condition and state to be fitte, in his own landes, that come to him by patrimonie, holdeth an opiniõ, that it should be likewise proper and fit for vs here. The Emperor was aduertised of our state, by our enemies, and by the traitors which were amongst vs, who also vnder the colour of an embassage to Colen, assayed to destroye all our matters. The Emperor informed other Princes, who trusted to his report, thinking that y^e which came frõ this part, was an oracle.

But

The Cardinall vviseth to Morillon, that it is not yet timeto cause Bourse and others, to yeeld an account.

The treatie of Colen.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

But you (my Lordes) who knowe the depth of the state of these countries, the commodities or discommodities, the true causes of the vpholding, or of the ruine thereof: who haue also much to lose therein: who also are bounde by all lawes to the preservation thereof, haue otherwise iudged of those articles: all the people was asked their aduise therein: and they did al with one consent, reiect those conditions, as ouer vnreasonable: and this was done, not in one towne onely, but in al. True it is, that we besought the Emperors Maiestic, the French King, the Queene of Englande, and the King of Portugale, to intreat for vs, that a good peace might be graunted vs, but to take that, as though we had submitted our selues vnto them, we suppose not that any wise man would so thinke.

And as concerning *that forbidding, which they say was made, concerning the publication of the sayd Articles*: your patience and gentlenesse ought greatly to be praised, when you did not openly and for an example cause such to be punished, who were so rash as to publish the same without your leaue: and so farre off is it, that we feared the communicating, diuulging, and publishing of them, that on the contrary side, we caused them to be printed, with the declarations of their insufficiencie, and they were sent thorow all the Prouinces and Towns, that they might be deliberated vpon: and that the aduise and resolution of all might be had. But there is great difference, betweene a thing communicated in order, by the way of righte, and by the authoritie of them, which haue power so to doe: and betweene this, that certaine little Scoutes, should priuily cast amongst the people, certaine little Pamphlets, as some of them which were sent to Collen about your seruice, caused vnder hand and closely to passe forth, those things which they had negotiated, and treated off with the enemye, wherein they betrayed both you and the Countrey, as more largely appeareth by their owne Letters, whereof I will not speake any further, because that all is set abroade, and brought to euery mans sight.

They thinke the vnion of the Prouinces, made at Vtrecht, to be wonderfully wicked and euill. And why so? Because that
all

The Lord
Prince hindered not
the communicatinge of
the articles
of Colin, to
the people.

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all that which is good for vs, is euill for them: and that which is healthfull for vs, is deadly for them. They had set all their hope, vpon a discord and disagremēt, and they had prouoked therto some of the prouinces, who haue had as many deliberations & counsels, as ther are moneths in a yere: beside they had at their commaundement certaine pestilent fellowes amongst vs. What remedie then could a man deuise better, against dissention then vnion? And what counterpoison more certaine against their venim of discorde, then concorde? By meanes whereof, their purposes, their trecheries, their night counsels, their secrete intelligences, were all at one time scattered abroad, God (who is the God of peace and concorde) declaring therby how much he hateth such deceitful tongues, and how he can easily ouerthrow, such false and abhominable enterprises. You see (my Lordes) that I giue them a fayre and large field, to crie out against me, and to scorne at me. I confesse vnto them, that I haue procured the vnion: that I haue aduanced and promoted the same: that I haue endeouored to maintain it, and I tel you (my Lords) yet; and I speake it very plainly, and loude, that I like it well, that so not only they, but also all Europe shoulde vnderstand it. Maintaine your vnion: keepe your vnion, but do it, but do it indeede (my Lords) that so you may execute, not in wordes, nor by writing only: but in effect also, that, which your sheafe of arrows, tied with one bād only, doth meane, which sheafe you beare in your seale. Let thē go now and accuse me, that I haue brought all to confusion, when I procured the vnion, for the doing of which matter, I wil neuer blush. For if vnder the shadow of a peace, they would bring forth vnto vs a deuision: if they would assemble themselves, one while at Arras, another while at Montz, giuing vs alwayes faire wordes, and that to this ende, that they might funder themselves from vs, and so draw by their cordes vnto themselves, light headed fellowes like vnto themselves: wherefore should it not be lawfull for vs, on our owne behalues, to ioyne and tie our selues together? Vnlesse (as it may be) they thinke, that they are permitted to doe euill, and to abandon the Countrey: and when I pray you? Euen when Maestricht

The vnion
of the prou-
inces made
at the time
of the sepa-
ratio of Ar-
tois & Hays-
nault.

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was besieged (will not yee, O yee poore people, feele, when yee shall reade these thinges, the hote yron, which shall burne your conscience ?) and that it was not lawfull for vs then, to doe good, and to heale the Countrey. Let vs then here (my Lords) learne that, which is profitable and necessarie for vs to learne : and let vs learne it of the greatest enemye, that euer the Countrey had, yea of the greetest tiraunt of the whole earth.

**Cōcerning
the voiage
of the Lord
Prince into
Ouerystell,
An. 1580.**

They object vnto me afterwards a horrible crime, and wor-
thie forsooth, of this more great Proscription, than that which
was pronounced by Sylla and Carbo : that is, *that I departed
not out of Antuerp for two yeres space, and that I went to Vtrecht.* A
man may easily see, that they know very well what I doe, as
though, that with their very great sorrow and greef, I had not
in those two yeres space, trauailed twise into Flaunders, where
by the aide of the foure members or partes of that Prouince, I
placed better order in the sayde countrey, then they woulde or
wished. But go too, let vs graunt, that I did not for two yeres
space together, go out of Antuerp : was not this a great faulte,
to be alwayes nigh vnto you, that I might the better serue you
in euery thing, which it pleased you to commaund me ? But I
went to Vtrecht : beholde (my Lordes the euill : beholde the
bile or sore, for this is the voiage, that woundeth them euen
to the hart. They had before hande so wisely purposed their
matters : they had layde so sure a foundation for their affaires
and businesse : they pleased themselves so much therein : they
writ thereof to their friendes : they helde in their handes so
many countreyes and governments : they had written so ma-
ny Letters : and had vsed so many hirings, secrete intisements,
and open practises, as they thought all to be sure their owne :
and yet I comming only to shew my selfe at Vtrecht, with the
good assistance and counsell of my Lords, the Deputies of the
Prouinces : behold that great mist or fogge. was vanished a-
way : so many Castels as they had reserued for their tirannie,
were beaten downe : and so many of our owne Townes assu-
red to vs : they hauing for all, no other thing left vnto them,
but one only Towne of importaunce, wherein was the Cap-
tayne of the enterprife : which Towne notwithstanding hee
knew

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knew not how to make subiect to his commaundement, but by an abhominable murther, of one, whome he called his father: who the euening before, had set at his table, he as a Iudas dealing with him vnder a false kisse. And this (my Lordes) is the cause, that maketh them crie so loude, yea this is the Helena, for which they fight.

And as concerning that, which they obiect against me, *that I haue driuen out some of the ecclesiasticall persons or church men:* you (my Lordes) know, that this is not true. But when their Captaine, who is in Groeningen, had taken prisoners some of the religion, and had murdered other some, yea the verie Bourgmaister, and all this, contrary vnto his othe: hauing also before time, brought in and sworne vnto, the new religion (as they call it): and hauing solemnly, and that with his othe, and his sign, and his seale confirmed, the vnion of Vtrecht: al these things considered, who is he that will thinke it strange, if those on our side, ment what they could, on their owne partes to assure themselves, seing that they saw the enemies, without any reuerence to their othe taken, to tread vnder their feete al holy and sacred things, and with such a perpetuall reproch to them and their rase, to haue violated & broken, whatsoeuer iustice and equitie, doth as yet remaine in the worlde? And this wee may say at the least, that no man can iustly charge vs, that in the midst of those troubles, which our enemies themselves haue stirred vp, that euer any of our side, proceeded or came to such a heape of iniustice, as to wet their hands in the blood, of those that were confederate to them, or of those which stayed themselves vpon their fidelities: which thing their Captaines haue done, yea and that with their owne handes.

Concerning the Nobles, which he sayth, *haue withdrawn themselves out of the Countrey*, who is hee, which euer droue out so much as one of the. But if the terrors of their own consciences haue pursued them, & that they haue bin vexed by their owne feling, which (as it were infernal and hellish furies) hath chased them from place to place, who ought to be accused therefore, but only they themselves who secretly, disloyally, and vnfaithfully, haue practised the destruction of their owne Countrey?

Touching
the Priestes,
driuen oute
of the coun-
trei of
Freiselande.

Cōcerning
certain nob-
le mē, that
departed
out of
Freiselande.

THE APOLOGIE OF THE

And would to God that they had sooner felt this burthen, and that they which remain, and are ouertaken with the like madnesse, might follow the euen at the heeles, so should they deliuer vs from great trauaile, and the common wealth from feare, least some one time or other, they should execute their pernicious purposes.

The roundnesse and plainesse of the Lorde Prince.

It is a ridiculous & fond thing, that they call me hipocrit, who neuer in respect of them, haue vsed any dissimulatio. For while I was their friende, I haue freely foretolde them, that they twisted the threede of their owne destruction, whilest that they attempted and tooke, these barbarous wayes of persecuting. And if their rage and vnmeasurable heate, ioyned with a contempt of vs, had not hindered them, from following my counsell: they had not bene brought to that state, in which they are at this present. When I was their aduersarie and enimie, for your libertie, I know not what hipocrisie they haue founde in me, vnlesse they will call this hipocrisie, to make open warre vpon them, to take Townes from them, to driue them out of the countrey: and without dissembling to doe against them, whatsoeuer the law of warre suffred me? But, if it please you (my Lordes) once againe to reade my defence, which I published three yeres ago, you shall see there, the Letters of a King, who is a deceiuer and an hypocrite, and who thought to catch me then, in the snare of his sweete and deceaueable Letters, as he supposeth at this present to astonish me, with his threates and thunders of words. But, thanks be to God, I haue a counterpoison, against both the one and the other venom.

The Lord Prince accused of diffidence or distrust.

They proceede afterwarde, with a great heape of foolish wordes, to amplifie this matter, *that I stay and ground my selfe vpon a certaine diffidence and distrust.* Though I did so, shoulde I be for all that, like vnto Caine and Iudas as he accuseth me? No verely. For it is one thing to dispaire of the promisses, and of the grace of God, who cannot lie, and an other thing not to beleue, the wordes of a subtile and deceitfull man, who keepeth not faith or loyaltie, as the poore Moores of Grenado, may speake to much thereof: and also, as the death of the Lordes, the Counties of Egmont and Hornes, of blessed memorie,

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morie, doe giue sufficient prooffe thereof. But if these good de-
 uines, such as the Cardinall is (who is one of the foundations
 of his Church) had thorowly founded, for the true and nigh
 cause of the ruine and fall of Iudas and Caine, they shoulde
 haue found, that it was dispaire, whither by the grace of God,
 I haue not bin brought, and I hope neuer shalbe. On the other
 side, if men, would looke vpon, the monstrous and thundring
 speeches which are vsed, in this not barbarous only, but more
 then turkish Proscription: shall they not finde therein, the ve-
 rie stile of desperate persons, such as we heare the Poets vse,
 when they bring in furious and mad men. They then haue the
 feared conscience of Iudas, the astonished conscience of Cain,
 and the reprobued conscience of Saule. You see notwithstanding (my Lordes) the great wisdom of these wise heads, diffi-
 dence or distrust, say they, is a common thing to al wicked per-
 sons. But I speake vnto thee (O Cardinall) who hast spent so
 much time in the Scholes, and I bid thee tell me, whether thou
 call not this learning, to wit, to be from a mans youth instru-
 cted, to lie and deceaue? I demaund then of thee, what thou
 wilt aunswere to the most strong and sententious of al orators,
 and to the greatest louer of his Countrey, who sayth (as I haue
 vnderstoode it from my youth, by all learned men) that the
 greatest and surest fortresse, that a free people can haue, against
 a tyraunt, is diffidence and distrust? And this speeche was di-
 rected against one called Philip, who had learned but a little
 tyrannie, in respect of thy Lord Philip, who exceedeth all other
 tyrantes, and for whome, no oration pronounced against Phi-
 lip, is sufficiently worthie, no not that, which for the excellency
 of it, is called Diuine. I know thou wilt aduise and take counsel
 concerning this matter, and in the meane while I will speake,
 I will write, and I will cause to be iugraued in euery place, this
 notable sentence, worthie of eternal remembraunce: & would
 to God, that I might be better beleeued, than that good O-
 rator was, amongst his people, who suffering themselues to be
 busied and abused, by people like vnto thy selfe, and other such
 wretched workers of confusion (which are at thy commaun-
 dement, and haue set on sale their tongues and pennes) were

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at the last snared, and vtterly brought to confusion. But I hope (my Lordes) better thinges of your constancie and courage.

The offers
which the
enemies say
haue bin
made to the
L. Prince,
to cause
him to des-
part out of
the Coun-
trei.

And as good Orators, doe alwayes keepe towards the end, some strong and pearcing reason : and as good Captaines, leaue their best Souldiars in the last rankes : so these so skilfull and so much excercised men, come at the last to entangle and snare me, with the waight of a great and a grieuous reproche, *They haue offred me (they say) great commodities, to the ende that I might depart to the place where I was borne, where every one ought to desire most to liue, to the which I meant not to consent.* What could they say (my Lordes) which might make more for mee than this? consider I pray you their follie, or their shamelesse. For this must needes be, eyther that they speake shameleslie, or else that they are so voide of good vnderstanding, that they praise me, when they thinke to blame me. *It is a pleasaunt thing for enery one to liue in his owne Countrey,* wherfore then, doth this cursed race of Spaniardes, go from countrey to countrey, to torment and to trouble all the worlde? But if, in respect of so many bondes, as I am bound vnto you by, I preferre your seruice, (as I ought) before the Countrey wherein I was born : am I therefore to be counted a traitor and a wicked man, and the publique plague of the worlde? And yet notwithstanding you know, that euer since I was an eleuen or twelue yeres olde, I haue bin nourished and brought vp amongst you, and not else where, in so much that this countrey, is become as it were my naturall countrey. If then, they haue made me sundry promises : if they haue offred me (as they say) great commodities, and I haue notwithstanding refused the same : what can they condemne in me, except it be my constancie and fidelitie, to-wardes God and the countrey, which I haue preferred before all the goods in the world? Thinke not (my Lords) that I loue to be so continually occupied in trauaile and labour, or like to heare, so many wicked speeches and flaunders, on the behalfe of mine enemies: and (which is more) that I would heare them of them, that ought to be my friendes and are bounde vnto me : or that I take delight, to be so long time deprived of my goodes : to see my sonne so long kepte in cruell prison : to be-
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holde my selfe charged with such infinite debtes, and yet should be able to put an ende, to so great difficulties and distresses, and would not: or that I shoulde not be like vnto other men of the earth, who all preferre quietnesse before trauaile, and prosperitie before affliction. But what? If I cannot obtayne such blessings, and so blessed a condition without betraying you, without forsaking you, without giuing you ouer (as much as might be) for a praie, into the teeth of these bloody woolues: let the rest of the world pardon me (for I know that you approue me, and that I neede no excuse before you) if I will not, eyther for goods, or for life, or for wife, or for children, mingle in my drinke, one onely droppe of the poison of treason. But, so long as it shall please God, to giue me any droppe of blood, one peniworth of my goods, any vnderstanding, industrie, credite and authoritie, how small so euer it be: I will imploie: I will dedicate: and I will consecrate the same wholly vnto your seruice. Notwithstanding, seing they vpbraide me with such thinges, I will yet tell you (my Lordes) that they haue not done any such thing, without borrowing somewhat of the truth, and going beyond it also, according to their good custome. For such offers as they speake of, were as yet neuer made me, not but that I haue bin, well and surely aduertised, that I could not demaunde any thing, in respect of mine owne particular, but that they would yeelde the same vnto me: that they would promise to set my sonne at libertie: to leaue him all my estates: to assign vnto me in Germany, so much goods as I haue here, as well in respect of that which I possesse, as of that which is helde from me: to discharge me of my debtes, which are very great, and to giue me in readie Coyne, a millyon of Money, and good assuraunces for all these thinges.

These be (my Lordes) the goodlie offers which haue easilie turned them aside, which are departed away from vs. But so farre of is it, that such conditions were offered vnto me, that on the other side, they neuer knew, eyther by the Letters of the Emperours Ambassador, or by his secrete practises, with some of my seruantes, and sundrie
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of my nearest kinsfolkes, or by the Letters of the Commissioners: how to get this only at my hand, to wit, that I should sende particuler articles, and that in my owne name: but I haue alwayes answered, that if the peace might be concluded, as you (my Lordes) demaunded it, I should be satisfied: I not minding to haue any other condition, either good or euill, than that which you accepted of: nor yet minding, neyther directly nor indirectly, to sunder my selfe from the common cause, vpon which I did iudge, that either my aduersitie, or my prosperitie did depend.

Is not this a great fault, to vpbraide a man with this, that he is a good man? and that he is, as much loiall, constant, and assured, against all the winds of faire promises, as by Gods grace he is, against all the floodes of cruell threatnings?

Hitherto (my Lordes) you haue heard, the accusations, or rather the iniuries, wicked speeches and slaunders, whiche they haue gathered together, against my honour and reputation. It shal belong to you (to whom only I thinke my selfe bound, by reason of my goods, of the state wherein they are, and specially of my othes) to iudge thereof as it shall please you: for I doe not refuse, if I be found culpable, to receaue punishment: but if it fall out as I hope it will, thar you iudge, that I am accused by tiraunts and slaundersers, then I shall esteeme my meane, yet notwithstanding my most loyal, and my most faithfull seruice, to haue bin very well imployed.

The sentence of the
proscriptiō.

NOW then (my Lordes) vpon these fraile and weake foundations, they come to build the sentence of their Proscription, and here they lay out all their tragicall eloquence: they thunder: they lighten: they storme and rage: they doe as the Corebæ or furies doe in Theatres: they darte out all execrable wordes, and such as haue bin kneded, in Cocyte, Styx, and Acheron, against this poore Captayne. But this, thanks be to God, doth astonish me as much, as the thunders and lightnings of Pope Clement, throwne out of the mount Tarpeius, against my Predecessor, my Lord Prince Philibert, did astonish him: who ceased not for all that, to make
him

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him his Prisoner. For, after that I haue looked rounde about me, I finde that they are, but windes of wordes, and noises, to make children afrayde, rather then a man, who thorow Gods goodnesse hath not lost his courage, for the roinges of al their canons, nor for their foure score thousand Souldiers, who were alwayes at the Duke of Alua his commaundement: nor yet for so many armies by sea: nor yet for so many treasons of the sayd Duke, or of his successor against me: nor for the treasons of the Duchesse of Parme, who was before them: and yet notwithstanding, this was in deede a more fearefull thing, than a vaine noise of such a great thunder, which so quickly vanished away and hurt no man. And it is sufficient for mee, shortly to say before you (my Lordes) and before all Europe, that euery Spanyarde, or euery one that fauoureth the Spaniardes, of what qualitie or condition soeuer he bee (I respecte not nowe any mans person) who hath sayde, or shall say, (as this infamous Proscription hath published it) *that I am a Traitor, and wicked man*, that he speaketh falsly, and against the truth. In the meane while, let them forbid me, as long as they will, both fire and water, I, together with my frindes, will not leaue of for all that, euen in despite of their rage, to liue as long as it shall please God, to giue vs grace: which God only hath in his power, my life and my death, and hath numbred all the heares of my head, whose great fauour and assistance, I haue felte, euen vntill this present time, and I hope that he will preserue me, euen vnto the ende. As concerning the goods which I possesse, which also he giueth away (for hitherto, he hath bene so good a husband, that he will giue nothing of that, whiche he hath violently taken from me) I hope, (God aiding me) that it shall cost them so deare to haue them: that they shall get others else where farre better cheape As concerning my other goods, which he keepeth from me, I hope, that God will giue me grace, as well to dispossesse them thereof wholly, as I haue already done of a good part: and that they haue neuer violently taken goods, from any poore Prince (albeit that they haue spoiled fundrie thereof) which shall lie and waigh more heauie vpon them.

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He promiseth *five and twentie thousande Crownes*, either in *landes, or in ready money*, to him that shall yeelde me vp, into his *cruell handes, dead or alive*, or to him which shall take my life from me. Bnt albeit, there hath heretofore no publication bin made of such a matter, vntill this present time: thinketh hee that I am ignoraunt, how oftentimes he and his, haue bargained with murtherers and poysoners, to take away my life from mee? And if God haue shewed me such grace, as to make me able to preferue my selfe, euen then, when I was not aduertised of any such daunger: I hope, that he will not shew me lesse fauour at this time, wherein I am admonished, but rather, that as I haue great occasion to looke vnto my selfe: so he will stirre vp, sundrie good and vertuous people, who shall watche for my assurance and safetie. But albeit, that I know not in the world, any impudencie so shamelesse, which may be compared, with the impudencie of the Spaniardes: notwithstanding, I cannot sufficiently maruaile, that they haue bin so shamelesse, as to dare to publish, before all Europe, not only that they set a price, vpon a franke and free Captaine, who (thanks be to God for it) did as yet neuer feare them: but also that they annexe therevnto, such recompences and rewardes, yea and those so barbarous, and so estraunged from all rule of honestie and humanitie, as the like hath not bin hearde of: that is to say, in the first place, *that they will make him noble, if he were not noble before, who shall doe so Gentlemanlike, or so noble an act.* But I beseech you, suppose, that hee, which shoulde execute so wicked an acte, (which thing I hope G O D will neuer suffer) were of a Noble rase and stocke: thinke you, that there is any Gentleman in the worlde, I meane amongst the Nations, which knowe what Nobilitie is, who woulde so muche as eate, with so wicked, vngodlie, and mischeeuous a man, who for money shoulde kill another man, yea, though hee were the least, and the most abiecte person that could be founde?

Nowe, if the Spaniardes accounte suche people for Noble men: and if this be the waie to come to honour, in Castile

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file and Spayne, I will no more wonder at that, whiche all the worlde beleeueth, to witte, that the greatest parte of the Spanyardes, and specially those, that counte themselues Noble men, are of the blood of the Moores and Iewes, who also keepe this vertue of their Auncestors, who solde for readie money downe tolde, the life of our Sauour, which thing also, maketh mee to take patientlie this iniurie layde vppon me. In the seconde place, *they pardon him, euerie offence and faulte, how greuous soeuer it might bee.* But what if he had pulled vp the Christian Religion, out of one of his Kingdomes? what if he had rauished his Daughter? what if hee had spoken euill of the inquisition, which is the greatest crime that can be in Spayne? Shoulde he be pardoned? But, seeing mine enemy, went so farre to forgette himselfe, that hee would attempt, to take away, my goods, my lyfe, and myne honour: and that he might haue more witnesses, of his iniustice and follies, to publishe it so thorow out the worlde, and that in so many languages, I coulde not very well desire in respect of most great aduauntage vnto my selfe, that he should haue enriched and adorned, this his proscription, with any other ornamentes, than these very same, to witte, that for killing of mee, he shoulde make noble, not onely villains, and infamous persons, but also the most wicked, and the most execrable people of the whole earth: and to giue such a greate, yea so honourable a rewarde, to so notable a vertue. For what coulde be founde out more fit, to iustifie my righteousnesse and innocencie, then to go about, to roote me out by such meanes? and then this, to carrie a mind, by tyrannie, impositions, forgiving of greuous crimes, making of wicked men noble, and such like, to oppresse the defendour of the libertie of a people, that is cruelly and tyrannously vexed?

I doubt not (my Lordes) but that G O D who is iust, hath taken from him and his, all vnderstanding: and that he hath suffered him to declare and set out to all the worlde, matter ynough, whereby they may know, his poysonfull hart, against this countrey, and against our liberty, in as much as he

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maketh no account, of any act, how wicked and detestable soeuer it may be, in respect of the death of him, who hitherto hath so faithfully serued you. And further, he is not ashamed, to mingle with such sacriledges as these are, the name of God, calling himselfe *his Minister or Officer*. Hath the Officer then this power, not onely to permit that which God hath forbidden: but also, to reward it, with money, or money worth, with nobilitie, and the forgiuenesse of offences? And what offences or crimes I pray you? Verely of all crimes how greeuous soeuer they can be. But I doubt not, but that God, thorow his most iust iudgement, will cause to come downe, the iust vengeance of his wrath, vpon the Captaine and head, of such ministers and officers: and that on the other side, he will of his great goodnesse maintaine, mine innocencie and mine honor, so long as I liue, and amongst my posteritie after me. And as concerning my goods and my life, it is long time since, that I dedicated them to his seruice, and I knowe that he will doe therewith, whatsoeuer he shall see to be good, for his own glorie, and for my saluation.

And because (my Lords) he proceedeth also, to bring the droppes of this infamous Proscription vpon your heads, so far of is it, that you shall be moued therewith, that ye shoulde rather thinke, that herein the Spaniarde and his adherentes, follow the naturall disposition of women, who, after that they haue wept, scratched and bitten, doe for their last remedie and refuge, come to iniuries and reuilinges: and euen so doth your enimie, now yeelde out his last barkinges: and if we giue them prooffe, of our constancie, resolution, and courage, behold they are, at the last of their miserable and wretched enterprises. For, Sylla, Carbo, Marius, Antonius, and such other tyrants, the first fathers of these abhominable Proscriptions, neuer gaue example to the Spaniardes, to commit such follie and beastlinesse, albeit that they haue traced out before them, that example of crueltie and barbarousnesse, which these miserable wretches haue accomplished and perfourmed: But they proscribed such only as were fugitiues, driuen away, hidden in secret, and that within the countreys, ouer which they had power

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wer and authoritie. And these men are like vnto them in this, that is to say, in crueltie, because they proscrib, good, vertuous, and honourable personages : but yet in this point, they shew themselves sottish and foolish, that they proscrib him, whome they should fight against, with an armed power. For, to sende a poisoner, as the Duches of Parme sent one : or to send a murtherer, as hir sonne, the generall heire of the vertues of his auncestors, did : this is not the effect of a Proscription, but of briberie, and theeuerie rather.

Beholde (my Lordes) not what I am able to say, against this tyrannous Proscription, but what I haue thought meeete for this time : speaking vnto you, which haue the knowledge, of fundrie thinges, that I omit, because they are known vnto you, and because also, that if I would attempt, to speake of the particular enterprises, of the King, and of his cheefe Officers, I should assaie to doe that, which no Orator is sufficiently able, worthely to describe : yea that, which no good man, was euer able to conceaue : so great is their crueltie, tyrannie, and all maner of vniust dealing. Notwithstanding I hope, that as well by the matter contained in this Proscription (which is a sufficient testimonie, of their ouer base and abiect courage) as by my aunswere you shall sufficiently know, what are their pernicious purposes, and miserable attemptes : and by this knowledge, you shall also learne, what it is necessary, for you, to cast your eye vpon, and diligently to vnderstande : that is, that they dispaire, that euer they shall be able to vanquish you by force, and therefore they assay to sow diuision amongst vs, magnifying cheefly those, who haue not only forsaken vs, against their othe : but euen haue left vs in perillous times, and namely, whilest that one of our Townes was besieged : whereof they are not able, to make any iust complaint, nor alleadge their accustomed pretext and cloake, yea (which also is the heape, of all disloialtie and vnfaithfulnesse) at the very same time they come to assault vs, in other places and quarters. As for the threats annexed in this Proscription, tende to no other ende, but to astonish you, to the end you might seperate your selues from me : and plainely to declare, that they make war against

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me, and not against you, even as the wolfe would perswade the sheepe, that he had not war with any but with the dogges, which being once discomfited, he would easilie agree with the flocke of sheepe : for the dogges were alwayes the authours, of their debate and combatting. But (my Lordes) though I were absent : though I were departed into Germanie, would they burne no more ? would they spill no more blood ? would they drown no more ? Was the libertie of the Countrey maintained, by that gentle and milde man, the Duke of Alva ? Did they not then wickedly put to death in Spaine, your owne Ambassadors my Lords of Bergues, and of Montigni ? Did they not at the same time, set before your eyes, vppon speares and launces, the heads of your principall Captaines and gouernors ? The other point, which they most set before them, is the extirpation of Religion. I minde not here (my Lords) to enter into this question, which is the true Religion, wherein God is truely serued and called vpon, and that according to his worde : but leaue it rather to bee declared by others, more excercised in that matter than I : and yet so, that euery one may know by my profession, what I beleue concerning the same. But this I cannot chuse but tell you, that such is the estate of your countrey, that without the exercise and free vse of the sayd Religion, it cannot stande three dayes. You see the number of them that professe it, maruailouslie increased : you see that hatred agaynst the Pope, is inrooted deepelie, in the hartes of all the inhabitants of the Countrey, because that his damnable practises, agaynst this whole estate, are manifestly discovered.

Who is he then, that can boast that he loueth the Countrey, and would giue counsell to driue away such a great number of people, which once departing, shall leaue the Countrey, waste, poore, and miserable, and shall people and inriche the straunge nations about vs ? But suppose, that they will not departe, or voyde the Countrey, who is hee that can inforce them so to doe ? let vs looke vppon our neighbours : Lette vs consider our owne examples, and if wee bee not vtterlye voyde of witte and vnderstanding, wee will neuer chuse

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chuse such pernicious and hurtfull counsels, as shall vtterlie, euen from toppe to toe, bring to ruine and destruction, this estate. I will yet say somewhat more vnto you (my Lordes) that albeit that amongst them, which follow the Romane church, there are fundrie good people, and louers of their Countrey: and that amongst them, there are some also, whiche haue most honourable acquitted and behaued themselves: yet notwithstanding those of the Religion, are very well assured of this, that there shall neuer be found any amongst them, who hath had intelligence, or made any practise with the enimie, but all of them generally, haue bin contrarie vnto him. And albeit that some haue bin founde amongst them, who being like vnto wanton and proude children, haue brought thorow their vnheedinesse, some trouble into the house: yet for all that, they haue not had any dealing, with the common enimie. Seeing then (my Lordes) that you knowe their purposes and attemptes, there resteth no other thing but this, that you doe in time prouide for them, and labour what ye can, to redresse the same. And how shall this be perfourmed? forfooth by this meanes, that ye performe in effect, that which ye haue alwayes in your mouth: and that which the marke of your sheafe of arrowes signifieth, which it hath pleased you to haue grauen in your seale: that is to say, that no member of this goodlie bodie, respecte that which is his owne, but regard the whole bodie altogether: that some one parte of the bodie, take not vnto it selfe that meate, whiche is prepared for the whole, but that it suffer the stomacke (whiche is the counsell, that yee shall ordaine and appoint) to concoct and digest the same, and to sende it by the vaynes, to all the members of this estate, and speciallie, that wheresoeuer any disease or sicknesse shall appeare, the Phisitions shoulde speedilie be sente thither, and that the Patientes shoulde quietlie beare for a time, the miseries vppon them, that so they maye feele at the length, a ioyfull deliuerance, from their disease and euill. Shall not this be a iust reproche vppon vs and oures, for euer, if that, hauing so glorious an estate vnder our power, and so goodlie meanes
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for our defence, we doe, thorow a miserable conetousnesse and greedie desire, to get vnto our selues some commodities, and that with the preiudice and hurte of our countrey men and friends, whilest some draw one way, and other some an other: if wee doe I saye, finde our selues and that in a moment, snared and ouerwhelmed by our deadly enimies? Remember (my Lordes) I pray you, the very great diminishing and weakening of this estate, which came to passe after the death of Duke Charles, which fell vpon vs for no other thing, but because that while the Prouinces, busied themselves, to contende and to fight one of them against another, for certaine pretended priuiledges, and for certaine commodities, the rest was abandoned and forsaken. Thinke not that it is in my power (the affaires and matters being in such condition as they are) any long time to resist the enemy, with such small and slender meanes, as you (my Lordes) know, that I haue had in my hand and possession. But on the other side, if I haue any experience, or practise, of gouernment and warre: if I knowe this Countrey, and the meanes that the enemy hath, though that all the armies and powers, whiche they threaten shall come the nexte yeare, out of Spaine and Italie, shoulde come vpon vs and our powers, they shal doe no more, but much lesse rather, then the Duke of Alua did in Holland and Zeland. And if it be in your power to take order for this (as it is indeede) and yet notwithstanding ye doe it not: by what name shall a man call this fault, if it be committed by you (my Lordes) who are here assembled, and vpon whome, all the good people of this countrey stay themselves, esteeming you as their fathers, and their Protectors, who will also willingly inbrace, as some ioyfull newes sent from heauen, any good order which you shall decree and establish? Wherefore take pitie of your selues, and if that which concerneth your selues moue you not, yet take pitie I pray you of so many poore people already destroyed, and more like to be: of so many poore widowes and fatherlesse children: of so many murthers and slaughters, committed within the bowels of your owne countrey: of so many Churches destroyed: and of so many Pastors wandering vp
and

and downe together with their poore flockes. Set before you, that cruell and barbarous execution, committed at Niuelle, by the Countie of Mansfeld Which thinges you may easily auoide, and cast all the euill and mischeite of this warre, vpon the enemye, if only you remoue partialities and partakinges, and with one courage and hart as it were, imploye together all the meanes that you haue, without sparing, I say, not the bottome of your purses, but that whiche aboundeth therein. And as concerning that which particularly toucheth my selfe, you see (my Lordes) that it is this head, that they seeke for, the which by such a price, and so great a summe of money, they haue vowed and appointed to death, and saye, that so long as I shall be amongst you, the warres shall haue no ende. Would to God (my Lordes) either that my perpetuall banishment, or else my very death it selfe, might bring vnto you, a sound and true deliuerance, from so many mischeifes and calamities, as the Spaniardes (whome I haue seene, so many times deliberate in counsell, deuise and speake of particularly, and whome I know within and without) doe deuise against you, and prepare for you. O how sweete should this banishment be vnto mee? O how delitefull should this death be vnto me? for wherefore is it, that I haue giuen ouer, yea lost all my goods? is it to enrich my selfe? Wherefore haue I lost mine owne bretheren, whome I loued more then mine owne life? Is it that I might finde some other else where? Wherefore haue I so long time left my sonne a prisoner, my sonne I say, whome I oughte so much to desire, If I be a father? is it because you are able to giue me an other? or because you are able to restore him to me againe? Wherefore haue I put my life so oftentimes in daunger? what other recompence, what other rewarde, can I looke for, of my long trauailes, which haue come vpon me for your seruice sake, euen so farre, that they haue brought vpon me olde age, and the ruine and losse of all my goods, excepte it be to purchase and to procure you libertie, and that if neede be, with the price of my blood. If you therefore (my Lords) do iudge either that my absence, or that my very death it selfe, may serue you, or stande you in any steede, beholde I am rea-

THE APOLOGIE OF THE PRINCE.

die to obey, commaunde me, yea send me euen to the worlds ende, and I will obey you. Beholde, my head ouer whiche no Prince nor Monarche, hath any power, saue you only, dispose thereof as shall make most for your owne good, and for the health and preservation of your common wealth. But if you iudge, that this meane experience and small diligence that is in me, and which I haue attained, by so long and so continuall trauell: If you iudge that the remainder of my goods, and that my life it selfe, may as yet serue you (as in deede I doe wholie dedicate and consecrate the same vnto the countrey) resolute then vpon the pointes, which I propound vnto you and set before you. And if you thinke that I beare any loue to the countrey, and that I haue any sufficiencie in me, to giue counsel, beleeue that this is the only meane, to assure, yea to deliuer our selues from the enemye. This being done, let vs with one hart and good wil go together, and let vs together imbrace the defence of this good people, which demaundeth nothing else, but to haue good counsels laide open before them, nor desireth any thing else, but to follow the same: And this doing, if you yet continue towardes me the fauour, whiche heretofore you haue borne me, I hope by your aide, & Gods grace (which I haue so often heretofore felt, and that in very perplexed and doubtfull matters) that that which shall be resolved vpon, by you, shall be, for the good, and preservation, of your selues, your wiues and children, and all sacred and holie thinges.

The

The Copie of a Letter written by
the King with his own hand, to the Prince of
Orange, translated out of Spanish
into Frenche.



HAVE WITH GREAT AFFE-
tion receaved your Letter of the xxvij. of
Maie, and since, that other which you writte
unto me, the xiiij. of Iune: and by that which
I haue written to my sister, you haue bin able
to understande, the small occasion that you
haue to think that which you write unto me,
in that Letter of the xxvij. of Maie, but ra-
ther the contrarie. Also it is certaine, that you shoulde much deceaue
your selfe to thinke, that I would not haue all confidence and good o-
pinion of you: and albeit some certain one should meane, to perfourme
a contrarie duetie towards me, yet this should remaine, that I would
not be so light, as to giue credite thereto, hauing so great experience of
your loyaltie and seruices. Wherefore you neede not trouble your selfe
therewith, but stay your self vpon the Letters, which heretofore I haue
written unto you in this behalfe, and vpon your owne decedes, but at no
hande rest vpon that which some enemies (it may be of my seruice, and
of your good estate) would indeauour to cause you to understande.
Touching the libertie you demaunde, to leaue of your charges and offi-
ces, it greeueth me, that your particular affaires and businesses, are in
such tearmes and state as you say: and I cannot but tell you, that the
affaires of those Countreis, standing in such sorte and maner as they
doe, it is not reason that such persons, as yours is (to whom I trust, and
vpon whome I stay my selfe) should abandon and forsake the same, spe-
cially I my selfe being so farre off from the said Countreis, yea rather
it were reason, that those, that are in their owne houses should speedily
prouide for, and helpe this present necessitie, and imploy themselves vpon
that, whereunto they are bound, as ye haue presently done, in going
to Antuerpe, whereby I haue receaved great contentment and ioye,
and am very well assured, that ye will there doe, whatsoeuer shall bee
most conuenient for my seruice, and for the quietnesse and peace, of the
sayd towne and countrey, and for the auoiding of the disorders, that
shall arise there: which thing also I hope of you, and I knowe that yee

The Kinges Letter.

will not declare your selfe to be any other, than such a one as yee have heretofore declared your selfe to be, all your life long: And to the end yee may perceave, that I doe deale freely with you, I will not cease to aduertise you, that there hath bin in these quarters a great rumor, concerning this, to wit, that your brother hath bin found to be a dealer, in those thinges that are done there. And because I cannot cease, much and often to thincke of this matter, I charge you straightly diligently to consider, how it may be remedied and redressed, that it proceede no further, and looke that you doe effectually performe it: and if it seeme good unto you to remooue for a few dayes, your brother far from you, doe so. From the Forest of Segouia the first of August.

Subsigned

PHILIP,

And written vpon the backside

To the Prince of Orange.

And sealed with the Kinges Seale.

A PROCLAMATION AND AN E-

DICTION IN FORME OF A PROSCRIPTION,

made by the Maiestie of the King our Lorde, against William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, as the cheefe Captaine and disturber of the state of Christendome, and specially of these low Countreyes, by which

euery one is authorised, to hurt him and to kill him, as a pub-

lique plague, with a rewarde to him that shall doe it,

and shall bee assisting and ayding

therevnto.



Hilip by the grace of God

King of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Nauarr, of Naples, of Cicilia, of Maleorcha, of Sardinia, of the Isles, of the Indies and the firme lande, of the Ocean Sea, Archeduke of Austrich, Duke of Burgondy, of Lothier, of Brabant, of Lembourg,

of Luxembourg, of Gelderland and of Millan, Countie of Habsbourg, of Flaunders, of Arthois, of Burgundie, Palatine both of Haynault, of Holland, of Zeland, of Namure, and of Zutphen, Prince of Swaue, Marques of the holy Empire, Lorde of Friseland, of Salines, of Malines, of the Citie, Townes and countrey of Vtrecht, of Oueryssel, and Groninge, and Gouvernour in Asia and Africk. To all those that shall see these present writings, greeting.

It is knowne to all the worlde, how the late Emperour of most excellent memorie, Charles the fift, my Lord and father, whom God absolue, hath fauourable handled and dealt with William of Nassau, for the succession of the late Rene of Challon, Prince of Orange his cousine: and howe from that time forward, euen from his first age, he hath (although hee were a straunger) greatly aduanced him, which thing wee our selues also, haue alwayes successiuelly continued, and daylie augmented more and more, hauing made him first of our order, afterwarde our Leiuetenant generall in the gouernment

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of Holland, Zeland, Vtrecht and of Burgundy, and withall, of our counsell of estate, bestowing vppon him sundrie benefites and honours, whereby both by reason of the othe of fidelitie and homages, which he hath likewise made vnto vs, because also of the fces, pensions, landes and Lordships, helde of vs in diuers our Countreis and Prouinces, he was greatlie subiected and bound to obey vs, to keepe and holde his faith giuen, and to procure the good and profite of our affaires, and consequently to maintaine, all quietnesse and peace in our estates and countreyes. Notwithstanding euery one knoweth, that we were not so soone departed, out of those our low Countreyes, but that the sayd William of Nassau, made Prince of Orange by the meanes aboue mentioned, did by his sinister practises, deuises and craftes assaie, firste, to get the good willes of those whome he knew to be discontent, greatly indebted, haters of iustice, studious of nouelties, and speciallie such as were suspected to be of the religion, bancketting them, prouoking them, and drawing them after him, by faire wordes, promises, and vaine perswasions, euen so farre, that he was the principall author, promotor and framer, of the first request, presented by certaine companies of yong Gentlemen, who did dayly frequent his house and table: yea that the very plot thereof, was layde in his saide house, by and with the assistaunce of Countie Ludouick of Nassau his brother a great heretick. And albe- it, that he was the director of al these deuises, yet in that time, he daily haunted the counsel of estate, being present at al consultations and resolutions, taken and made therin, in so much that euery man may easilie marke, the faithful trust that was in him, and the obseruation of his othes. And afterward passing fro the said request, & proceeding further, he & his adherents, brought in hererical preachings, & publick assemblies in sundrie places of our saide countreis, whiles that the Dutches of Parma, our most dere & best beloued sister (the Regentes and general Gouvernes of our said low countreis) had sent vnto vs, that we might giue order cōcerning the said request. And also, by the aduise, knowledge, & partaking of the said P. of Orange the hereticks (being guided by those presētors of the afore said request, who wer fauored by him) begā tumultuously to break
Images,

AGAINST THE P. OF ORANGE.

Images, Alters, and Churches, to prophane al holy and sacred things, yea the sacraments instituted by god. Neuerthelesse, by the grace of god, & foresight of the said Lady, the matters were so wel gouerned and remedied, that he was inforced to depart out of our countreis, & to leaue his said gouernments, yet notwithstanding being ful of wrath & threatnings that he would be reuēged therefore, which thing he thought the yere following to perform by arms, but in vain, for he was so speedily pursued, by our army continually following him at his heeles, that he was driue out, of al our said cōtreis, without being able to remain in any part therof. But as soone after, there did in sūdry places appeare some discōtentmēt of our said subiects, against the gouernment of the D. of Alua (who succeded the said Lady in the gouernment afore said) and amongst others, in the prouinces of Holland & Zeland, so he practised that he might return thither again. To which notwithstanding he was not receaued, but that first he did holily sweare, to the estates of the said cōtries, and the towns therin, that he wold maintain the said countreis and towns for vs, and in our obedience, & that he wold not change any thing whatsoever, of the ancient, catholick, and romish religion, but as a gouernor only, would assise and defend them, against the said D. of Alua, if he wold inforce, & by violēce draw them to that, which he pretended, that is to say, to the paiment of the x. & xx. peny, of that imposition, which he would charge them withal, a thing indeed which we neuer cōmaunded him, neither euer vnderstoode to haue bin done, but with the good leaue & liking of our said subiects, & yet that also in the steede of other aids & impositiōs, wherof we meant to vnburthe the. Notwithstanding, so soone as the said Nassau, was entered and receaued into the said gouernment, he began by his officers & cōplices, to bring in heretical preachings in euery place where he could, persecuting all the good pastors, preachers, religious persons, and honest people, whereof hee droue away a great number, and amongst them he caused manie of them to bee murdered, or else wincked at the murther, that was made of them, by some of his adherentes, vntill such time as the said Estates, being greatlie offended with this crueltie, would haue a reason and an account yeilded thereof. but the he feigned that
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THE PROSCRIPTION OF THE K.

the thing did much displease and dislike him, and yet notwithstanding afterwards, he returned to his first purpose & marke, ill intreating those, which he knew to be Catholicks, and contrarie to his attemptes, aiding himselfe with the councell of hereticall Ministers, as well straungers, as of the said countrey, chaunging likewise the Magistrates, which he knew fauoured not his enterprises and purposes, and afterwarde proceeded to bring in libertie of conscience, or (to speake truelie) confusion of religion. Wherevpon immediately after it fell out, that the Catholickes were openly persecuted, cast downe, and driuen away: the Churches and Monasteries both of men and women broken downe, ruinated, and made euen with the earth: the religious persons both men and women euill handled, banished and rooted out, vnlesse they would play the Apostatates, & become married, for in the other he had no confidence at all (as also he himselfe, being before a married man, his seconde wife yet liuing, did take a religious woman and an Abbais, solemnely blessed by the Bishops hand, whome hee as yet keepeth with him, the most shamefast and infamous thing that can be, not only according to christian religion, but also by the lawes of the Romanes, and against all honestie) and at the last, hath proceeded so far, that he hath not lefte any more place for the catholick religion, suffering all the errors and impieties, of all other sectes and heresies, that he might thereby, ouerthrow and roote vp (if he would) our catholick and holy religion, which hath bin alwayes obserued by the whole estate of Christians.

Furthermore, he hath caused our poore subiectes of Holland and Zelande, to be so siffe, and brought them to stande vpon such termes, that almost all the townes thereof, one after another, haue bin besieged and taken, some by assault, and either some by composition and yeelding, in so much that more the once, he hath bin almost vtterly driuen out by our armies, vntill such time that, the great commaunder of Castile, being dead, whome we also made successor in that gouernment after the sayd Duke of Alua, whome wee called backe from thence, that wee mighte make our subiectes more contented thereby, things

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things came into some disorder, and disobedience of Souldiars, who tooke the towne of Ziriczee, which disorder began to giue some fauour to the said Nassau: and immediately after, the estates generall of our saide Countreis, in those quarters, (desiring once to get out of these miseries of warre, perswaded by the sayde Orange, saying and feigning that, he desired nothing, but the good peace and tranquillitie of the countreyes, and to set them free from straunge souldiars, and to holde the countrey vnder our obedience, and withall to preferue therein, the auncient catholick religion, such as it had alwayes bin exercised and practised amongst them, and to keepe the priuiledges and libertie of the saide countrey) did make with him the treatie of Gaundt, established expresly vppon these two grounds, that is, to maintaine the said religion, and obedience to vs.

While these things were in handling, wee sent our good brother, the late Lord Don Iohn of Austria, of blessed memorie, with commaundement and intention to pacifie, reconcile, and accord, all the troubles of our said countreis, by the moste gentle mean, and fauourablest way that could be, which thing also he did, yeelding vnto our subiectes euery thing, which any maner of way, might be graunted vnto them, ratifying and confirming also, the said treatie of Gaunt, which he caused to be published in euery place, according to the accustomed manner, which the foresaide Orange did gaine say, by all the forces and power he had, but not being able to hinder it, hee woulde neuer afterwarde cause the same to be published, in the places of his gouernments (fretting as is saide because he was not able to lette it) notwithstanding that we our selues had afterwards approued, confessed, and confirmed both the one and the other agreement and treatie, and notwithstanding that our sayd good brother (together with the deputies of the rest of the estates, had sent diuers great and good personages, to the sayd Orange, to perswade him to that, to the end effectually to accomplish on his part, that wherevnto he was helde and bound, by the articles and pointes, of the said treatie of Gaunt. And because, that he pleaded and alleaged continually

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THE PROSCRIPTION OF THE K.

that he ought to recover his whole government, and withall, that the townes which would not acknowledge him for Governour, or else those, which afterwards we had taken by force of armes, and brought by some other meanes into our obedience, should be put vnder his sayd government, he was euen in that also satisfied, by the goodnesse and gentlenesse of our said estates, who had not yet the sufficiently known his deceits and periuries yet so notwithstanding, that he should sweare that he would change nothing at al, of the forme of the said ancient, catholique and Romane religion, and that for this purpose, he should giue such assurances & satisfactions, as the magistrates, Burgeses and inhabitauntes of euerie towne, might iustly demaunde. Wherevpon they, hauing reasoned a long while, touching the assurances, which euerie towne did demaund, to the end that that which the sayde Orange promised them, might be obserued and kept, they were subiected vnder his government, after that he had sworne to performe the pointes aforesayd, and other articles contayned in the instrumentes and writings of the sayd satisfactions and assurances. But, so far as was it, that he hath kept and obserued his foresayd promises & othes, that, on the contrary side, he immediately brought into the said countreis and townes, his ministers and Calvinistes preachers, he hath caused the heretickes, that were banished, to return, he hath there practised libertie of conscience, and hath caused to be committed, some offences in some churches ioyning himselfe, first to the poorer sorte, and afterwards to the magistrates, and hath by little and little, persecuted the good pastors, and caused them to flie away: finally, hee hath expelled and banished the whole catholick religion, and forbidden the exercise and vse thereof. In doing of which, hee vsed his ordinarie hipocrisies, and accustomed counterfeiting, saying that those thinges displeased him, and that hee was not able to remedy the same. And yet notwithstanding he did, both by himself, and by his Officers secretly, and as it were vnder hand prouoke, all the seditious and hereticall persons, to vse & practise the mischeefe he had conceaued: and for this cause he did (by the aide and assistance of those of his side) place by
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little and little, garrisons within the townes, against his covenantes and promises sworne, and in the meane while ceased not, to accuse our sayd Brother Don Iohn, that he priuily practised many mischiefes against the Estates, whiche thing notwithstanding, our sayd Brother hath alwayes assured vs not to be true. But rather that seing the obstinacie and malices of the sayd Orange, he might be able to impart the same matter with others, and to deuise how, they might bring him to reason, and hinder him, from againe troubling the whole publique quietnesse, of the said countreis, as afterwardes he did indeede.

All this notwithstanding, the foresaid Orange left not of, vntil that by his practises and subtil sleights (which are very proper to him) he had set such great diffidence & distrust, between our said brother, & the estates of our said countreys, that there appeared nothing, but a most great, euident, and apparaunt murther. In so much that, for the auoiding of that disorder, or at the least to escape the imprisonment of his own person, the sayd Don Iohn, placed himself safelie, in our town & Castle of Namure. Wherevnto he was so much the more mooued, by how much he was not any whit at all armed, and on the other side, because it was manifest & certaine, that the sayd Orange, by al his posting messengers and officers, did not cease to prouoke the factious persons, to practise the like thing, vppon his owne person, as he had the same yeare caused to bee practised, vpon those of our councell of estate, appointed to the generall gouernement, of our sayde Countreis: as also, because that then the sayd Orange, thinking that he had gotten all, did begin to shoote out all his arrowes, and to discover his sleights and weapons, that he might draw our people into open warre, agaynst our sayde brother and Lieutenant generall. Notwithstanding, by occasion of some good men, being nigh about his person, and of other vertuous people, on the estates side, the matters came so farre, that all was well agreeed, and that for the auoiding of all occasion and distrust, it was both on the one side, and on the other concluded, that hee shoulde withdraw himselfe from his gouernement, and go into Italy, which thing also we, our selues wished and willed: And there

THE PROSCRIPTION OF THE K.

were with him, the Deputies of the Estates, mutually to accept and to signe, the offers made on both sides, one of them to another. But in ill time, this enimie, the common disturber of publike quietnesse (who knowing that from the place of Holland where he was, he could not with all his deuices any more hinder this peace and reconciliation) made haste to come at that very time to Bruxelles, and feigning that he would haue peace, he procured warre, setting downe new conditions, not yet talked nor conferred of, nor opened, in so much that hee obtained his purpose, breaking the whole agreement, as euery one very well knoweth. Afterwardes, the matter being come to a breaking out, of open and most cruell warre, he by force and tumult of the people, caused himselfe, againste the good will of the Estates, to be declared, Rewart, that is, the protector or defendor of our Countrey of Brabant, and afterwards the seconde Lieutenantaunt of all our low countreis, and also in fine he caused himselfe by the tumultes of Gaunt and of some other places, to be chosen gouernour of Flaunders: hauing also caused to come thither, his brother, and brother in law, being straungers, to take vpon them, some other gouernmentes, of our Prouinces, and yet notwithstanding, hee and his partakers, burthen our people, withall sortes of impositions, exactions, demaundes, leuies and taxes, so harde, barbarous and tyrannous, that the like hath neuer bin heard of, which he hath executed, by a strong hand and force of armes, without the consent of our people, and without yeelding any account thereof: and if any man speake of these thinges, he layeth hande vpon them, or causeth them to be spoyled, euill intreated, imprisoned, or slaine.

On the other side it is manifest, what wee haue continually done, to pacifie and quiet (so soone as we vnderstoode thereof) the euill that fell out, as hath bin sayd, betweene our sayde Lieutenantaunt generall and the estates. But all the good that we haue done, or our sayd brother, hath bin suppressed and hid, in steed whereof the sayd Orange and his partakers, haue deuised a thousande slaunders, the more to abuse our said subjects. Euen as in the obtaining of the victorie of Gembloux, when

A G A I N S T T H E P. O F O R A N G E.

when we sent the Baron of Seelles, with most reasonable conditions, that he might receaue into fauour our said Subiectes, and accord the whole matter, nothing for all that followed therevpon, by meanes of the hinderaunce and let, whiche hee knew to cast in the way, albeit, that all this while, our said subiects, writing both to vs, and to our good brother and nephew the Emperour, and other Potentates, to iustifie the controuersies, which they had against our said Lieuetenaunt generall, did openly protest, that they ment not to change any thing, in the auncient, catholicke, and Romane religion, suche as it had alwayes bin obserued, in our said countreis, and withall, that vnder the practise thereof, they would yeelde vs that obedience which by Gods law and mans law, was due vnto vs, whiche were the only two points which we alwayes demaunded, and demaunded then of them, and whereof also we were agreeede. Notwithstanding the sayd Orange, fearing the reconciliation of our subiects with vs, came so farre, that he layd agayn newe deuises, not only for to hinder that matter, but also to make (if he could) for euer, the thing past hope of recouerie, and altogether remediless, by going about to corrupt all with heresie, wherevnto he attained in diuers places, both by subtelties, craftes, mischeefes, and periuries, well known to him and all heretickes, and also by meere force, vsing the same that he had practised before, to wast and destroy the prouinces of Holland and Zeland, casting all into the fire of popular tumult, and of the sacking of churches, prophanations of sacramentes, murder, or imprisonment of Bishops, Pastors, Iesuites, religious men, religious women, and of sundrie secular parsons, of qualitie and honour, breaking against all order of lawe the priuiledges, vsages, and auncient obseruations, depriuing the presidents, Councillors, gouernours of places, Bailiffes Prouostes, Sheriues, and other catholicke officers, well affected to vs, and the good and quiet of the Countrey, placing in their steede, and that extraordinarie and by his owne authoritie, and oftentimes by the tumult of the people prouoked by him (amongest whome he raigneth and triumpheth) all sectaries, seditious men and turbulent persons, liuing of pray and spoile,

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and others like vnto himself, in so much that he hath brought all to the most tyrannous, barbarous and bloodie confusion, that euer yet was heard of. Wherewith certaine catholick prouinces being displeased, euen to see the consciences of the good so oppressed, and violently inforced, and the churches, Cloysters, Abbayes, Castles, and houses of Noble men and great personages, laid flat with the earth, and their goods giuen for a praye to all wicked men, at the discretion and pleasure of this straunger, and the whole estate of the countrey subuerted by him, yea so farre that hee meante to constraîne whole prouinces, and that againste their othe and good will, they did willingly reconcile themselves to vs, which thing hee indeauored on all sides, to gainsaye and hinder, but they were more strong and constant then he, yea, which is worse, albeit that the saide Lorde Emperour at the earnest request of the sayde Estates (who besought him to bee an intercessour, and to make a meane for a pacification betweene vs and them) was content to take the whole matter into his owne handes, and to determine it, if he coulde: wherevnto for the desire that we haue, to see our people deliuered from these calamities, we did willingly condescende and agree. And indeede, his Imperiall Maiestie, sent to this purpose, his Commissioners to Colen, as wel Princes Electors, as others very principal persons of the holy Empire, to vnderstand the points in cōtrouersie and dispute betweene vs, yet that hath no whit at all turned him aside, nor with-held him, from his wicked & peruerse purposes. And indeed, the said Commissioners, hauing heard the whole matter, & debated a good while together vpon the demaunds of the said estates and our offers made therto, resolved & concluded, the points & articles which they caused to be published and imprinted, that they might be accepted both of the one side and the other. Neuerthelesse, the whole matter was without any effect or fruit, notwithstanding that the articles themselves were so gracious, fauorable, iust, & reasonable, that there is no man of good iudgement, but he confesseth, that they are more then sufficient, and that we haue offered more, then by any reason our subjects ought to demaund at our handes.

Whilest

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Whilest this conference and communication endured and lasted, the said Orange, to the end that he might countermine & worke against the Emperour and vs, and so by that meanes, make all the matter desperate and past hope, caused to bee made in Vtrecht, a certaine assemblie of the deputies of sundry townes and countreies, which he keepeth vnder his owne power, there to practise a new league, or a manifest and notorious conspiracie, against the saide religion and vs, with execrable and detestable both wordes and othes, not abstaining to iniury the commissioners of the saide Lorde Emperoure. For which purpose he was assisted, by his saide brother, and brother in law, and other helpers, which thing also he hath wrested and wrong from fundry quarters, by great prouocation, practises, sclaunders, and importunate promises, yea, almost by force. And notwithstanding all the duties perfourmed by the saide commissioners, to cause the prouinces to vnderstand their saide good and holy resolution, so profitable for our subiectes, hee by his adherentes, and certaine supposed persons, which he vseth for instrumentes, hath brought to passe that the saide articles, were a long while suppressed and kept close, and when they could not any longer be hidden, he hath not only hindered, that they should not be accepted, but hath procured, that certaine pernicious bookes, stuffed with all lies and sclaunders should be writtē against them. And moreouer at the last, the deputies that he hath in Antwerp, nigh aboute him, beyng of the same profession, haue demaunded articles more greuous, impertinent, hurtfull, offensive, and full of impiety agaynst God and vs, their soueraigne Lord and naturall Prince, yea such articles, as a man cannot speake to much agaynst them. Besides, when hee perceaued, that as yet hee could not by all his cunning, perswasions and laboures wholly obtaine the same, he determined with him selfe at the length to depart out of Antwerp (from whence hee had not sturred by more then two yeares space) & went into our said towne of Vtrecht, to the ende hee might accomplish the execution of the saide damnable league, and make for euer all the matters vnremediable. And generallie, hee hath so behaued him selfe in all manner of tyrannie, that he hath driuen from
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thence and rooted out al the people of the church, yea he hath so handled the Lordes, and the whole principall Nobilitie of our countries, that they haue bin inforced to withdraw themselves and to forsake their countries, to the ende that hee may raigne and rule there, most absolutelie, amongst the furies and tumultes of the people the good being chased away. And because that all this confusion and curse, that our countries suffer, is confessed to proceede from the counsell, exhortation, prouocation, and doing of this wicked hipocrite, by meanes of his vnquiet spirite, which also placeth the whole felicitie thereof, in the trouble of our subiectes: and withall seeing that it is manifest, that so long as he is in our Countreis, there cannot be peace, rest, nor any quietnesse. establishing all vpon a perpetuall distrust which he hath euer in his mouth (a very ordinary and common thing to wicked men, who haue their consciences vexed and troubled, as had Caine, Iudas and suche like) moreouer, seing that notwithstanding the intreaties and offers, that hath bin made him, euen by the Emperors Commissioners, offering him most great profits, to the end that he would returne to his native countrey (where euery one naturally ought to desire to liue most) he would not accept thereof, and being a straunger, delighteth rather to destroy our countreis, then to yeelde to that, which is reasonable and good, for the benefite of our naturall subiectes the inhabitauntes thereof.

For these causes which are so iust, reasonable and lawfull, vsing in this behalfe the authoritie that we haue ouer him, as well by vertue of the othes of fidelitie and obedience, whiche he hath sundrie times taken vnto vs, as also being the absolute and soueraigne Prince of the sayd low countreis, for al his peruerse and wicked deedes, and because he alone hath bin the head, authour and promoter of these troubles, and the principall disturber of our whole estate: to be short, because he hath bin the publick plague of christendome, we publish him for a traitour, and a wicked man, the enemye of vs and of our countreis, and as such a one haue proscribed him, and doe perpetually and for euer proscribe him, out of the sayd countreis, al o-
ther

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ther our Estates , Kingdomes and Seignuries , interdicting and forbidding all our subiectes , of what estate , condition or qualitie soeuer they be, not to haunt, liue, bee conuersaunt, speake, or communicate with him, openly or secretely, nor to receaue him or lodge him in their houses, nor to minister vnto him meate, drinke, fire, nor any other necessaries, in any sorte whatsoever, vpon paine to incurre our indignation and displeasure, as hereafter shall be sayd. And so we permit all, whether they be our subiectes or others, for the execution of our said declaration and edict, to staie him, let him , and safely to keepe his person, and to hurt him both in his goods , and also in his person and life, giuing the sayd William of Nassau ouer vnto all men, as the enemye of mankind, graunting vnto eue-ry one, al his goods moueable and vn moueable, that can take, occupie, or conquer the same, wheresoeuer they be , excepte those goods, which are at this present, in our power and possession. And to the ende in deede, that this matter may be the more effectuellie and readilie perfourmed, & so by that means our sayde people the sooner deliuered, from this tirannie and oppression, we willing to reward vertue, and to punish vice, do promise in the word of a king, and as the minister of God, that if there be any found, either among our owne subiectes, or amongst straungers, so noble of courage, and desirous of our seruice, and the publick good, that knoweth any meane howe to execute our saide Decree, and to set vs and himselfe free, from the aforesaid plague, deliuering him vnto vs quicke or dead, or at the least taking his life from him, we will cause , to be giuen and provided, for him and his heires, in good land or readie money, chuse him whether, immediately after the thing shalbe accomplished, the summe of xxv. thousande crownes of golde, and if he haue committed any offence or fault , how great and greeuous soeuer it bee, wee promise to pardon him the same, and from henceforth do pardon it, yea and if he were not before noble, we do make him noble, for his courage and valiaunt act : and if the principall doer, take with him for his ayde, in the accomplishment of this enterprise, or execution of this his fact, other persons beside himselfe, we wil bestow vpon

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them benefites and a rewarde, and will giue to euerye one of them, according to their degree, and according to that seruice which they shall yeelde vnto vs in this behalfe: pardoning the also whatsoeuer they haue ill done, and making them likewise noble. And because, that the receauers, fauorers and adherents of such tirantes, are they which cause them to continue, and do nourish & vphold them, in their naughtinesse, without the which, the wicked could not rule any long time, we declare all them likewise for rebels against vs, and enemies of the commo quiet, and as such, do deprive them of al their goods, nobility, honours, & fauours, present or to come, who, within a moneth, after the publication of this present edict, shall not withdrawe themselves from taking parte with him, but shall continue to shew him fauour, and to giue him ayd, or otherwise shal haunt, frequent, follow, assyst, counsell or fauour him, directly or indirectly, or from this time forwarde, shall deliuer him any money, giuing, all the goods and bodies of such men, wheresoeuer they may be found, either in our kingdomes or countreis, or out of them, to those that shall occupie the same, whether they be marchaundizes, money, debtes, actions, landes, Lordships, and other thinges whatsoeuer, except that the said goods, be already seased in our power, as hath bin before sayde. And that they may the more speedily come to haue sentece, against their said person or goods, it shall be prooffe sufficient ynough to declare, that they haue seene them, after the time expressed in this proscription, communicate, speake, treat, haunt openly or secretely with the saide Orange, or haue shewed him particular fauor, assistaunce or ayde, directly or indirectlie howsoeuer, pardoning notwithstanding all men, whatsoeuer, euen vnto the said time they shall haue done to the contrarie, if returning backe, and submitting themselves agayne, vnder the due and lawfull obedience which they owe vnto vs, they haue accepted or shall accept the said treatie of Arras, concluded at Monts, or the articles of the deputies of the Emperor determined at Colen.

Thus wee giue in charge and commaunde, our most deare and faithfull, the heads, presidentes and persons of our priue
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and great counsels, the Chauncellor and persons of our counsell in Brabant, the Gouvernour, President and persons of our counsell at Luxembourg, the Gouvernor, Chauncelor, and persons of our counsell in Gelderlande, the Gouvernor of Lembourg, Faulquemont, Daelhem, and of others our Countreis of Oultremeuze, the Gouvernor, Presidentes, and persons of our counsels in Flaunders and Artois, the great Bailie of Haynault, and persons of our counsel at Monts, the Gouvernor, President, and persons of our counsell in Holland, the Gouvernor, President and persons, of our counsell at Namure, the Gouvernor, Presidentes and persons of our counsell in Frieseland, the Gouvernor, Chauncelor and persons, of our counsell in Oueryssell, the Lieuetenaunt of Groningen, the Gonernor, President, and persons of our counsell at Vtrecht, the Gouvernor of Lile, Douay, and Orchies, the Pronost and Countie of Vallanchiennes, the Baylie of Tournay and of Tournesses, the Rentmasters of Bewest and Beoisterschelt in Zeland, the Iudge of Malines, and all other our Iustices and officers, and those of our vassals and Subiects, whome it shall concerne, their Lieutenantes and euery one of them, in respect of himselfe, and as though it did appertaine vnto him, that they cause this our present declaration, edict and decree, to bee published, euery one in his gouernment, and in the places and boundes, of his or their iurisdiction, where they are accustomed, to make cries and proclamations, to the end that none may pretende any cause of the ignoraunce thereof: and moreouer that they keepe, obserue, and maintain, and cause inuiolablie to be kept, obserued, and maintayned, all the poyntes and articles therein contained, according to their forme and tenor, proceeding, & causing to be proceeded therein respectiue, to the recompence, reward, pain and punishment of the persons aboue mentioned, without any fauour, loue, or dissimulatio, and for this purpose, and all thinges appertaining thereto, we giue them, and euery one of them, full power, authoritie, & speciall commaudemēt, and we charge & commaund all, that they obey the, commaūding the same and that they vnderstand it diligently. And neuerthelesse, seeing that at this present the saide publications

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cannot be made, in the townes, countreys and territories, occupied by the rebellion of the sayd Orange, wee will that the publications which shalbe made, in the towns nereft therunto, being vnder our obeisance, shall be wholly and all together of such force and effect, as if they had bin vtterly done in the circuits and places accustomed, and for such we haue authorised, and by these presentes doe authorise them, yea we wil and commaunde, that immediately they be printed in two sundrie languages, by the sworn printers of our Vniuersities of Louain or Douay, to the end that it may more easilie come, to al mens knowledge, and this is our pleasure, appointment, and good will. In witnesse whereof we haue caused our great seale to bee put to these presentes, which were made in our towne of Maestricht, the xv. day of the moneth of March, and in the yere of grace 1580. and of our kingdoms, to wit, of Spaine, Sicilia. &c. the xxv. and of Naples the xxvii.

By the expresse appointment
of his Maiestie.

Verreiken.

*And the sayd Letters are sealed with the great seale
of his Maiestie in redde waxe, and a double
lase hanging thereat.*

¶ The

¶ The Letters of the Prince of Parma
to the Gouvernors, and Counsellers of the Prouinces
commaunding the publishing of
this proclamation.

ALEXANDER Prince of PARM A,
and of PLAISANCE, &c. Go-
uernor and Captaine
generall.



Y COSEN, MOST DEARE AND
welbeloued friends, seeing the K. my Lord hath
by 2. seuerall letters of his, very plainly coman-
ded vs to cause incontinently to be published, in
these his countreyes, the proscription and pro-
clamatiō annexed hereto, against W. of Nassau
Prince of Orange, for the causes contained in
the sayd Proclamation, we could not cease to obey his Maiesties com-
maundement, and to send the same vnto you, requiring you, and ne-
uertheles, in the name, and on the behalfe of his Maiesty, appoynting
you, that immediatly, after yee haue seene the same, you publish it, and
cause it to bee published thorow out all the Townes and places of your
gouernmēt and iurisdiction, after the accustomed manner, to the end,
that none may pretend any cause of the ignorance thereof, and faile
yee not herein, and thus my Cosen, most deare and welbeloued friēdes,
our Lord haue you in his keeping. From MONT S, the 15. day of
Iune, 1580,

Vnderneath was written ALEXANDER.
And signed ouer against it VERREYKEN.

This was the Superscription of it.

To the Gouvernours and Counsellours
of the Prouinces.

THE PRINCE OF O- range, his letters to the ESTATES.

To my Lordes, the Estates Generall.

YOU HAVE KNOWEN (MY LORDES) BY my life past, and by my behauiours, that I neuer mynded to answere to any libels of defamation, which certayne sclaunders had published agaynst me, in so much as if the quality & greatnes of the wrong, which hath bene done agaynst mee by the proscription that the Kinge of Spaine, hath caused to be published, I had not as yet proceeded so farre, especially had it not bene that the maintenance of myne honoure, had requested the same of mee, as I haue more largely layed out the same in my defence, which I haue presented vnto you. Since which time, there is come into my handes a letter very false and counterfayt by myne enemy, which they say they intercepted, and I sent to my lorde the Duke of Anion, or (as they say) to the Duke of Alançon, whereof some personages amongst them, and that of greate qualitie also haue sent copies, as well to certayne townes of our syde, and amongst vs, as to sundry strange & forrain princes. This letter my Lordes is so fondly written (whether a man regarde the stile thereof or wil respect the matter therein cōtained, which by the bare reading therof sufficiently bewrayeth, that there is not in it any shew of truth) that such an impudent deuise deserueth no answere: as also God bee praised, there is not found a man amongst vs, which is any whit at all moued therewith. On the other side, euery man hath knowen, that they had no other meaning hereby, but by such mistes & smokes, to darken the brightnes, by which their miserable & pernicious intē against this cōntrey, hath bin discovered by the letters of Cardinal Granduell and others which you haue commaunded to be printed, after that you knew their handes, their signes, and their seales, and withall therby, to take vnto them selues an occasion and matter, to cast vp and spew out (according to the manner of shameles women) slaunders, and wicked speeches, ful of lying. But so far of is it, that by this meanes, they haue (in respect of me) obtained that which they pretended, that on the other side, they haue done me greate pleasure, in publishing such follies be-
cause

The Prince of Orange his Letter.

cause that thereby they do more and more iustify and verify my defence, sufficiently proving them selues to be shameles lyers, most impudent slaundersers, and most fond falsifiers, which serueth more & more to iustify (as I haue saide) myne innocencie, and to geue approbation to all my actions. For, seeing that all men know, that this should be the best newes, that they could receaue or heare of, that I would forsake the countrey, and leaue it to them, I offered them (my Lordes) and you under my honour, do promise them to accomplish it, if they bee able to proue in your presences, that I haue at any time written, or commaunded to be written, or sent such a letter, that presently I will depart the countrey, and withdraw my selfe from it, without euer setting my selfe against them: and I promise them, euen vpon a simple or bare request to send the such passeportes and safeconducts, and they also penned in such order, as either they can or will demanda. But yet this shalbe with this condition, that if they will not accept this so reasonable an offer, all they which haue bin the authors of such a writing, or which haue published it, or which haue sent it, into the townes amōg st vs, or to forraine Princes, and straunge countreyes, shalbe held

for lyers, slaundersers, and wicked speakers, as indeede such they are. Giuen at Delft

the 25. of Ianuary. 1581.

(. . .)

FINIS.